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PUBLICATIONS

NEW SER. No. 50

THE

NICHOLAS PAPERS.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

SECRETARY OF STATE.

EDITED BY

GEORGE F. WARNER.

V. 2
VOL. II.

JAN., 1653—JUNE, 1655.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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Second Edition
Published
New York

NICHOLAS PAPERS.

CONSTITUTION

OF

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

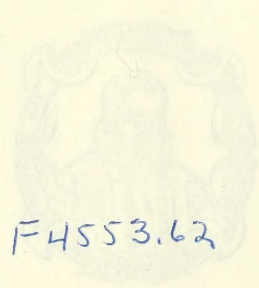
EDITED BY

GEORGE M. WARRER

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VOL. II.

LONDON: JOHN BELL



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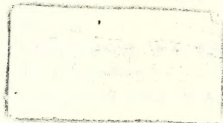
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PREFACE.

THE present volume, in continuation of that issued in 1886, includes a selection from the political correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas from the beginning of 1653 to the end of June, 1655. The contents, however, are very unequally distributed over these two years and a half, less than forty pages sufficing for the whole of 1653, while the first six months of 1655 claim as many as two hundred. As was the case with 1652, very few letters written to Nicholas in 1653 have been preserved among his papers now in the British Museum (Egerton MSS. 2533-2562), and almost to the end of the year the matter here printed consists solely of extracts from his own letters made by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1750-51, and contained in Additional MS. 4180. Of the letter-books from which they were taken, and which have since disappeared, mention has already been made in vol. i. (p. iii.) ; but the hope that the notice there directed to them might lead to their recovery has not been realised, and I have consequently still had to rely upon Dr. Birch for this side of the correspondence. After 1653, when letters on the other side exist in abundance, his extracts are for some reason less numerous. Such as there are, however, if of any interest, will be found here, interspersed among the letters addressed to Nicholas under their proper dates.

During 1653 and down to the end of July, 1654, Nicholas was still at the Hague. As we have seen (vol. i. p. 279), he had been summoned with Hyde to Paris in November, 1651, as soon as Charles had escaped thither from the rout at Worcester. Poverty, weak health, and a sense of the Queen's inveterate hostility, kept him

where he was ; but, although he thus further postponed the formal resumption of his office of Secretary of State, which lapsed at the death of Charles I., he was probably no less usefully employed there than he would have been at Paris. In 1653 the Dutch were still at war with the English republic ; indeed, as he tells us (p. 18), Monck's victory of 29-31 July was won almost under his eyes.^a The negotiations, however, which led to the treaty of April, 1654, were already in progress, and in view of the strong leaning in the province of Holland towards an accommodation (p. 8), the presence at the Hague of a trustworthy Royalist, to watch events and counteract, if possible, the projects of the dominant anti-Orange faction, was almost indispensable. For duties of this responsible, though informal, character Nicholas was perhaps better fitted than any one else, and he carried on from thence a large correspondence not only with Hyde^b, who, with the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer, was acting Secretary of State, but more or less officially with many other members of the party. If it cannot be said that he effected much, he was hardly to blame, for after Worcester the royal cause might well appear desperate, and at the period we have reached the fear of Cromwell had already begun to overshadow all Western Europe. All, in fact, that could be got from the States General was a licence in November, 1653, for Middleton to transport arms to Scotland in aid of the abortive rising of Glencairn, and even this was against the will of the representatives of Holland (p. 26). Nicholas therefore could only urge the King to have patience and keep away, since the nervous anxiety at the Hague not "to disgust or exasperate the English rebels" (p. 4) past forgiveness would probably have provoked the States to the same insulting action they took at the mere rumour of his approach in 1655 (p. 227).

^a One effect of the spectacle the battle afforded to the people of the Hague was to put an end to a singular children's riot, in which De Witt played a somewhat sorry part.

^b Many of Hyde's answers are printed in the *Clarendon State Papers*. There are none here.

Personally too Nicholas's position was anything but agreeable. Besides suffering from what he calls "this devil of a disease," the gout (p. 63), he was wretchedly poor. On 5 March, 1654, he writes to Hyde that he had not received a shilling from the King for more than three years and was "wasted even to nothing" (p. 62), and although as a makeshift he obtained a patent for a baronet, he could turn it to no account from his inability to find an aspirant to purchase it (pp. 26, 61). Even his expenses for the carriage of his official letters from 1 January, 1652, to 24 August, 1654, were not repaid to him until May, 1655,^a while, to add to his chagrin, he heard exaggerated tales of the luxury of Charles's Court (p. 14), and was without the poor consolation of thinking that his services were appreciated (p. 13). For these reasons, public and private, it is not surprising that the tone of his letters is almost uniformly despondent, the only signs of cheerfulness being when he speaks of the increase of the King's party in Scotland (p. 15), of a declaration in his favour by the King of Denmark (p. 23), and of a contribution for his relief made, in spite of the drunken indiscretions of his envoy Lord Rochester (p. 6), by the Emperor and German Diet (p. 26). In April, 1653, came the end of the Long Parliament; but his pleasure at the news was damped by the fear of its leading to an elective monarchy, with Cromwell or some puppet of his at its head. This turn of affairs he apprehended might prove "more durable and worst of all for the King," (p. 12), and at the end of the year he wrote in the same strain of Cromwell's elevation to the Protectorate, arguing, against some who made light of it, that nothing could be "more prejudicial or pernicious to his Majesty's interest" (p. 32), and characterising it as "the saddest change that could be to have that bloody Rebel so enthroned" (p. 42).

Meanwhile he delivered his opinion to Hyde of his fellow-Royalists, and their actual and potential allies, with equal freedom.

^a From his own account in Egerton MS. 2556, f. 40, drawn out month by month, the sum total being 790 guilders, 12 stivers.

Against the Presbyterians in particular, "a crafty and perfidious generation" (p. 32), he was as hostile as ever, though for once he concurred with them in deprecating the dispatch by Charles of a mission to Rome (p. 10). Among individual Royalists who excited his distrust and antipathy the most conspicuous were Lord Percy and Lord Jermyn. Against the evil influence of the former he gives vent to more than one solemn warning; and Jermyn's power over the King, in spite of Charles's dislike of him, is dwelt upon in a curious passage (p. 31). Nor does he hesitate on occasion to criticise freely the King's own conduct. Thus, admitting his "so excellent understanding and judgment in affairs," he censures him for his luxury and neglect of business (p. 14), and again (p. 17) for his want of secrecy, whereby the most confidential matters were at the mercy of tattlers, traitors, and spies.

As early as August, 1653, he refers to the accusations of treason made against Hyde (p. 19), which, thanks to Lord Taaffe, were brought before the King and Council at the end of the year and immediately exploded. Nicholas was at first inclined to blame Charles in this case also, for even listening to "such a gross and ridiculous charge" (p. 42); but on further knowledge he rendered him full justice for his staunch support of his minister (p. 52). Although the whole matter is of course well known from the Clarendon Papers and other sources, much of interest on the subject will be found here from the lively, though somewhat erratic, pen of Lord Hatton, whose letters from Paris after a break begin again at the end of 1653. Like Nicholas, Hatton strongly favoured Hyde, and after his manner he does not spare the reputation of the opposite faction, from the Queen herself downwards. Another Palais Royal intrigue, in the autumn of 1654, excited him still more, namely, the attempt of Henrietta Maria, aided by Walter Montague and others, to make her third son, the young Duke of Gloucester, a Catholic. The boy had been released from Carisbrooke and allowed to go abroad with his tutor, Richard Lovell, early in 1653 (p. 5), and, after spending some time with his sister the Princess of

Orange, had been sent for to Paris in April (p. 7). The result was anticipated by Nicholas and the Princess from the first (pp. 7, 129), but it was not until Charles had removed from Paris in July, 1654 (p. 78), leaving his brother with the Queen, that the Duke's persecution really began. Graphic details of the struggle are given in the letters of Hatton and Sir George Radcliffe, both of whom took an active part in defeating the scheme. Hatton's burden was, "For God sake bestirr yourselves, and be confident your designes are lost for England if this goe on" (p. 122), and he declared that the Duke's entry into the Jesuit college, "though but for a small tyme, would be worth an army to Cromwell" (p. 149). Within more sober bounds, Charles was quite alive to the injury the perversion, if not prevented, might do to his cause, and he was besides naturally annoyed at the Queen's flagrant breach of her promise not to make the attempt.^a When he promptly sent Ormonde to bring the Duke away, it was in Hatton's house that the latter was harboured until money could be found for his journey to Cologne. This was only done by Hatton and Radcliffe becoming sureties for a loan, and the difficulty in recovering the money from the King is a frequent topic in their subsequent letters.

By this time Nicholas had joined the King and was again in office. He appears to have left the Hague on 31 July, 1654, and after some weeks with Charles at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was reappointed Secretary of State (vol. i. p. xvii.), he accompanied the Court to Cologne.^b On 4 June, while still at the Hague, he wrote a significant letter to Hyde on the subject of a rumoured plot for the assassination of Cromwell and his Council, being no doubt the

^a See the King's instructions for the Duke on his leaving Paris, dat. 10 July, in *Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, ii. p. 382.

^b His movements can be traced by the daily record he kept of his letters (new Egerton MS. 2556), beginning at Jersey, 24 Jan., 1650, new style. Thus he was at the Hague, 16 Oct., 1651-20 July, 1654; at Brèda, 3-13 Aug.; at Antwerp, 16-18 Aug.; at Aix, 25 Aug.-8 Oct.; and at Cologne by 10 Oct. The record breaks off, while he was still there, at 31 Dec., 1655, but begins again on 17 Jan., 1660, and continues down to 22 Mar., 1668.

same for which Gerard and Vowell were executed a month later. What is noteworthy is that he assumes as a matter of course that both Hyde and the King were privy to it; while for his own part, with evident disgust at not having himself been taken into confidence, he merely complains that it had not been kept more secret, and then proceeds to advise how its prospective success might best be utilised (p. 68). Hyde's answer, which is among the Clarendon Papers, must have taken him aback, for it not only denies, for Charles and himself, all knowledge of any such design, but reproves him somewhat sharply for supposing the King countenanced all the "wild things" done by his partisans. This repudiation, made to one who would plainly not have been shocked at an avowal, must be set against the evidence of the King's complicity produced at the trial of the conspirators.*

When Nicholas resumed office the most serious matter on hand was the King's projected crossing over for the second time into Scotland. This had been determined in November, 1653 (p. 25), and urged upon him by Middleton six months later as the one thing needful to ensure success (p. 67); and, writing to Lord Norwich from Aix on 1 September, 1654, Nicholas represents him as still bent upon going (p. 80). The venture, however, if it was ever worth making, was then too late. With Middleton hard pressed, and Glencairn and his colleagues one after another making terms, success would have been hopeless. An ardent spirit, indeed, like Captain Strachan, might protest, "In all the former woagis (sc. voyages) my harte was newer hartier as to this woag" (p. 79), but wiser counsels prevailed, and the year 1655 found Charles still at Cologne, with his hopes directed more towards England than north of the Tweed. Among his emissaries meanwhile to Middleton one deserves passing notice, if only on account of the vicissitudes of his career. This was Captain Peter Mews, who after the Restoration returned to his original profession and died Bishop of Winchester. Though now an ex-captain of royal guards, and a political agent and

* *Calendar of State Papers, 1654*, p. 237; *Cobbett's State Trials*, x. col. 522.

adept at disguise (p. 236), he makes his first appearance in the volume in the less unclerical character of a candidate for a philosophy professorship at Breda, when Nicholas gave him a glowing testimonial (p. 19). Several of his letters are here printed, one of which in particular, written from Culross on 28-30 January, 1655 ("Jan. 30th, never to bee forgot," as he puts it), gives a good idea of the straits to which Middleton and the royal cause in Scotland were then reduced (pp. 187-192). We owe, moreover, to his outspoken zeal for Nicholas against alleged slights from Hyde an interesting letter of remonstrance from the former (p. 175), in which he pays a generous tribute to Hyde's great abilities and services, and above all to his constant friendship for himself. At the same time, Mews was not alone in thinking that the Secretary was not admitted to his colleague's fullest confidence. Sir A. Hume and Sir G. Radcliffe suspected it also (pp. 141, 235); and judging from his angry letter on the subject to Ormonde of 13 April, 1655 (p. 252), the conviction would seem to have forced itself at length upon Nicholas's own mind. Probably, however, this was no more than an ebullition of momentary annoyance, for, in spite of Hyde's somewhat patronising tone, the relations between the two remained of the most cordial kind to the last.

By his departure from the Hague Nicholas again added to his correspondents Joseph Jane, who for the future regularly supplied him with news from thence, just as Hatton, and latterly also Percy Church, did from Paris. In 1650-1 Jane had rashly entered the lists with Milton in his *Eikon Aklastos* (vol. i. p. 207). This tract gives no very high idea of his controversial powers, but he was notwithstanding no less sensible in his comments upon political news than active in collecting it, and his letters are of much value for their frequent notices of English affairs.* His first letter, for example, dated 22 September, 1654 (p. 83), begins with an account of the opening of Cromwell's new Parliament and of his speech on

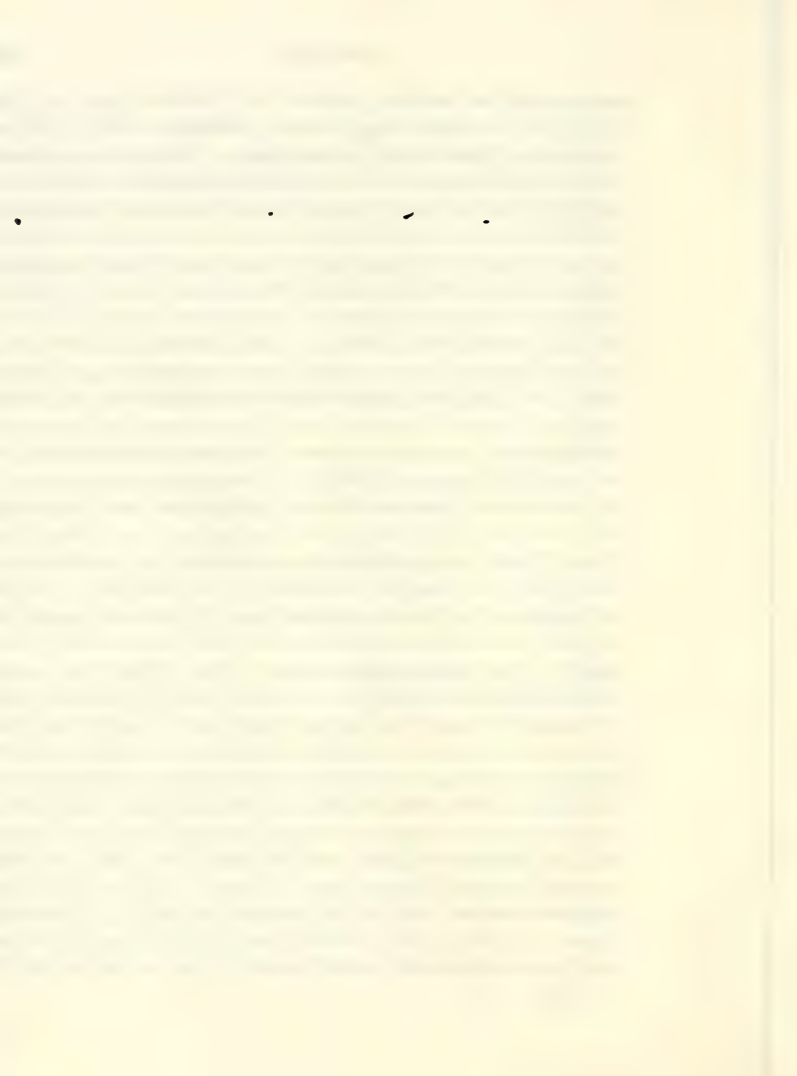
* A number of Nicholas's answers have found their way into the Record Office (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1654, 1655).

the occasion, and it finishes up with a story of his furious resentment against Lady P. Mohun for "the scornes shee had putt on his daughter" (p. 86). The Protector's commanding personality in fact impresses itself upon the whole correspondence, his reported sayings and doings being a welcome relief from the paltry squabbles and factious intrigues that fill so much space in royalist letters from Paris and Cologne. That the writers, Nicholas included, all hated him was but natural. "Bloody rebel," "Old Noll," "damned Oliver," and "false perjured rouge," are but a few of their terms of abuse; and it is only at second hand that we hear anything to his credit, as in reports of speeches of Christina of Sweden—that "atheisticall mad-woman," as Hatton calls her—and the Prince of Condé, the latter of whom openly toasted him as "the wisest, ablest, and greatest commander in Europe" (p. 14). There is indeed one undesigned exception in a letter of Sir Henry de Vic (p. 290), who recounts how Condé himself was forced by him to render justice to the poor widow of one of his officers, who as "a subject of the Commonwealth" had the good fortune to enlist his compassion. He showed another side of his character at a strange interview in June, 1654, with Henry Seymour, an active royalist agent, who had just come from Paris. According to Hatton, who vouches for the truth of the story (p. 125), Seymour insisted on being presented to him, apparently in mere bravado. He quickly, however, changed his tone on being confronted with an only too accurate history of his proceedings at Paris, and, as Cromwell raised his threats, grovelled at his feet, begging his life (p. 100).

The Protector's action in regard to the unlucky royalist attempt at insurrection in March, 1655, has recently been the subject of an animated controversy, the contention on one side being that he deliberately encouraged it to further his own schemes.* This theory is not a probable one, and, whatever may be the case elsewhere, nothing in the present volume lends it support. At the same time,

* *Quarterly Review* for April, 1886, p. 414; *English Historical Review*, articles by Mr. C. H. Firth, 1888, p. 323, and 1889, pp. 313, 525, by Mr. R. Palgrave, 1888, pp. 521, 722, and 1889, p. 110.

such ample use has been made of the Nicholas Papers by Mr. C. H. Firth in controverting it that any discussion of the points at issue, even if space allowed, is unnecessary. The reader may therefore be referred instead to the *English Historical Review*, and more particularly to Mr. Firth's three articles, in which the whole history of the movement is minutely traced ; and it need only be remarked in passing that the letters here bearing on the subject constitute perhaps the most valuable part of the volume. This is especially the case with regard to the two in cipher from Daniel O'Neill to the King, written from London on 8 and 9 March O.S., which will be found on pp. 217, 221. Apart from other evidence, of which there is no lack, they prove beyond all question the reality and wide ramification of the plot of which the risings at Salisbury and elsewhere were the abortive outcome, while at the same time they go far to explain the ease with which the insurrection was suppressed. Of the subsidiary questions involved, perhaps the most interesting is the extent to which Fairfax was engaged on the royalist side. Unless O'Neill was grossly misled, or misleading, he had committed himself fully, and rumours were current to the same effect. There is, however, on p. 335, a shorthand note of Nicholas, penned in contradiction of a characteristic vaunt of the Duke of Buckingham, which is almost decisive the other way. What O'Neill has to say of Buckingham himself is the reverse of flattering (p. 219) ; but of the many notices of him in the volume there is hardly one that does not reflect upon his loyalty and honour, and, if we can believe Col. Price (p. 262), he was equally condemned by popular opinion in England. It is more surprising to find O'Neill coupling with him in a charge of treason the honoured name of Abraham Cowley, but Lord Jermyn's "Clerke with the redd head," who was also "a poet," can have meant no other. Later on, Hatton also has a malicious sneer at him for the immunity he enjoyed in visiting England (p. 345). This, however, was probably aimed rather at Lord Jermyn, the writer's special aversion, than at his secretary ;



and it was besides not warranted by the facts, for Cowley had been arrested in April of this same year.^a

After the collapse of the plot, Nicholas's correspondents had no difficulty in assigning its causes. Among them, Jane was undoubtedly right in deploring the long hesitation in settling a day for concerted action, which, as he says, "weakned the spirits of many, deprived them of the wisdom and courage of surprised leaders (viz. of those arrested in January, p. 202), and disordered the whole plott" (p. 251). Added to this the extraordinarily little care taken to conceal the fact that a movement was on foot (p. 268), and, with a vigilant and powerful enemy well served by spies, failure was inevitable. In an interesting letter on the Yorkshire rising Capt. Mews points also to that curse of all royalist undertakings, want of union among the leaders. "I finde," he writes (p. 327), "by discourse with Col. Morgan that there were very greate divisions in the counccills of those who were employed in England for his Majestic. Those of the West and Kent agreed well enough, but the North and they differed." Justly or not, a large share of the blame fell upon Hyde, who was very generally regarded as the chief manager of the plot. Jane, indeed, in the letter just quoted, goes so far as to say that some consoled themselves with this for its failure, "in regard they expect the event will have heavy operations on some particulars at whose dores they would leave the miscarriage" (p. 251), Hyde being evidently intended. The language of Mews, also writing from the Hague, but ten days later, shows that the storm had then fully broken (p. 267), though it may be suspected from his strained relations with Hyde that he made out the worst. It need hardly be added that Hyde himself in his narrative of the business^b found nothing in his own conduct of which to repent.

Both at home and abroad the effects of the royalist disappoint-

^a See Mr. Firth's note in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1889, p. 316.

^b *Hist. of Rebellion*, vol. 1842, v. p. 407, *seqq.*

ment showed themselves at once. "The French heere deride our miserie," writes Hatton from Paris on 16 April, adding a sneering speech of Mazarin to Jermyn as an illustration (p. 253); while on the same day Percy Church reports that by his advices from London all so far had conduced "only to secure and better settle the damned Oliver and his ministers in their government" (p. 254). It followed that the desire of the French Court for a treaty became more urgent, and the chequered progress of the negotiations with the Protector was watched by Nicholas and his correspondents with as much anxiety as Penn's fleet, the real object of which was so long in suspense. On the other hand, as the French drew nearer to Cromwell, and the latter's designs against Spain were more plainly revealed, the Royalists conceived new hopes of aid from Brussels and Madrid. There is a good letter on what he calls "this pleasing subject" from Lord Colepeper at p. 270; and the Earl of Norwich, without waiting for orders, busied himself in opening communications with the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands. He did so, as he explains, with "fresher thoughts, though oulder clothes then ever" (p. 320), and his letters amply testify that neither age nor poverty had impaired his cheery good humour and racy style.

The more sinister figure of the notorious Col. Edw. Sexby, who had escaped abroad, appears in the correspondence about the same time. He is first mentioned on 21 May by Col. R. Phelipps, to whom he read at Antwerp four letters from England which all foretold Cromwell's imminent downfall at the hands of the Levellers (p. 298). On 15 June the same writer reports a still more remarkable interview with him, in which he gave his opinion of the King's prospects in such an event with almost brutal frankness (p. 340). Norwich, who had known him when in prison and held a high opinion of his capacity, also sought him out, and even convinced himself not only that he "was a fast fixt Catholike, though professing nothing lesse" (p. 348), but that the Spanish policy would follow his lead (p. 350). "Spayne," he writes, "courts him

much, and I am assured that monny is sent into England for to set the worke a foote. Cromwell must downe, if wee spoyle not our game" (p. 348). What the nature of the work was is revealed without any disguise in his next letter. It was, in short, "to take away Cromwell, which must first be, and by his owne party, or not likly to be in hast," Sexby's advice to the Royalists meanwhile being to remain perfectly still until the blow was given, "and then, if the King will but be content to permit a free parlement, all may doe well" (p. 351).

While these plots were hatching across the channel, and the Presbyterians and Sexby were also drawing closer together (p. 341), Cromwell's position at home, in spite of his recent success, was depicted to Nicholas as increasingly difficult. "I thinke," writes Jane, "it very much concerns Cromwell that his designe take in the Indies, for surely it will touch him very neere both in point of mony and reputacion and the common discontent" (p. 307); and a similar opinion was expressed in stronger language by Norwich (p. 321). Special interest attaches also to the latter's statements on p. 318, since they appear to be the result of conversations with Count Hannibal Seestedt, who had just come from England, and, as Norwich thought, with "a purpose to sound his Majesty whither he would accept any conditions from Cromwell or offer him any." But, although Seestedt's friendly intercourse with the Protector is amply vouched for by Whitelock, there is still room for doubt whether, even assuming the Count to have been his authority, the confessions Norwich here puts into Cromwell's mouth were actually made. Mixed with wonder at his vast designs, Norwich's own view of Cromwell's position in June, 1655, was that he was "like one at the laste gaspe, full of convulsions, laying hould on what comes next him" (p. 338). This was of course exaggerated to grotesqueness; but the irony of the situation at the date to which the end of the volume brings us was not unfairly painted by Jane, who, in commenting on the well-known Cony case, remarks that, whatever the Protector's

success might be in the Indies and abroad, he would find it a hard task "to reconcile all within, having now done what ever was imaginable to have beene acted by the Kinge if he had received noe opposition—impositions without parliament, committments by counsell table, prohibitions to lawyers to pleade and committments of them. The army must be firme, or els the pacience is miraculous" (p. 336).

In conclusion, I will say a few words as to the portion of the Nicholas Papers that still awaits publication. As it is not proposed in any case to go beyond the Restoration, the correspondence to be dealt with covers, roughly speaking, a period of four more years, the remaining letters of 1655, the most prolific year of all, constituting nearly five-eighths of the whole. Judging therefore from the proportion of printed matter in the selection already published, and with a due allowance for a growing increase of interest and value, two additional volumes will, I think, be required if adequate justice is to be done to the collection. Meanwhile, as some time may possibly elapse before their appearance, I have deemed it advisable that the present volume, like its predecessor, should include its own index.

Lastly, I have to express my thanks to Dr. John Evans, P. S. A., F. R. S., for kindly placing at my disposal a number of transcripts made by him from the Nicholas Papers many years ago, before they came to the Museum. His original intention was to publish them himself, and the reader will no doubt join in my regret that he did not carry it into effect.

G. F. W.

6 February, 1892.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.^a

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

2^d Jan., N. S., 1653.

Six of the Provinces are willing to send some small supply into Scotland; but that of Holland hath taken time to consider of it. . . . Those of Holland have great expectation of some good fruits by Doleman's^b negotiation in England.

I believe that such a little Treatise or Discourse as you mention,^c shewing that the Sovereign Power in England being invested nowhere, and alterable upon every accident by the change of an

^a As in vol. i. (*ib.* p. ii.) all matter taken from Dr. Birch's extracts (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4180) out of Nicholas's lost letter-books is marked by an asterisk in the margin. Nicholas at this time was at the Hague.

^b Lieut.-Col. Thomas Dolman or Doleman, sent to England in Dec. 1652, to arrange a treaty with the United Provinces (see an account of him in Aa, *Biogr. Woordenboek*, iv. p. 240). Hyde feared him as a man of parts, with credit enough to do mischief (*Cl. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 162, 170). Some of his intercepted correspondence is in Thurloe, vol. i., together with a letter (p. 576) from Beverning recommending him to De Witt, and stating that he was supported by the bounty of Cromwell.

^c See Hyde's letter of 20 Dec. 1652 (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 128).

1653. - officer of the army or the like, being written merely (as you say) on the grounds of general reason and the pure interest of these countries or of France, might do much good both there with you and in these countries, if a good pen would undertake it.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

9 Jan. N. S.

I have been with Mons^r Wiequefort^a and given him thanks from the K. for the letter he sent his Majesty, and have desired the continuance of such advertisements, as you signified His Majesty's pleasure I should do. He was wont to write to L^d Jermyn, but finds his L^{dy} hath dealt so ill with him about the King's jewels (whereby he suffers very much, and is like to be undone) as he professeth that he will have no more to do with L^d Jermyn.

Sir Robert Stone^b is now come from England, and now at Breda. It is believed that he hath some private message from the Rebels to some of the most potent in these provinces. But you may remember that some of my former intelligence said he was to be here an intelligencer for the Rebels, which I made known to several of the States of Holland

I find that Sir Marm. Langdale (who is no friend of yours) holds a great correspondence with the K. by M^r Wandesford, who writes back as copiously as he used to speak.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1st/₆ Jan.

I have your 4th of the 4th of this month^c and conceive you have done wisely to decline the correspondence of Sir Marm. Langdale at a second hand, thro' the consul's conveyance; for I doubt, if you had it immediately from Sir Marm. Langdale himself, you

^a Joachim Wiequefort, brother of the more famous Abraham and Resident in Holland for the Elector of Hesse. See *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 165.

^b He had a pass for himself and two servants on 22 Nov. 1652 (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1651-2, p. 577). Hyde had the worst opinion of him (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 171, 198, 268).

^c See *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 130.

1673.

would not long like it, he driving on with much fierceness the Catholics designs and extolling excessively those worst of Papists in Ireland, who, I conceive, contributed as much to the miseries both of our and their King, as any except the Scots. For God's sake desire his Majesty to have a little more patience and not to stir out of France untill he shall have some intimation from hence to come this way, which I hope will be before many months, for that they now here begin to believe they cannot possibly have any secure peace with the worst of Rebels.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1st Jan.

The French embassy in England is the great business these here have their expectation fixed upon . . . Lieut. Col. Doleman is (notwithstanding Ld. Culpepper's disesteem of him) a man of good parts and much credit here . . . If by any good means Pau^a may be gained to the K., he is able to do much here; but he is said to be very subtile and false and is wholly of the Spanish party and against the French, as I am credibly assured.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

3rd Jan. 1653.

Mr. Girvase Pierrepont,^b brother to the Marq. of Dorchester, with his wife and one of his sisters, all newly declared themselves Papists and going to Rome . . . I pray by whom was the K. moved to send for Sir M. Langdale and to make him of his Council? Sir M. [is] as eager in pursuing the Papists interest as any new Popish proselyte ever was . . . These dull Dutchmen pay me so slowly for my intelligences, as I am afraid I shall lose them, which would be a great pity, for they are excellent men.

^a See vol. i. p. 306. He was now Pensionary of Holland.

^b Apparently the same of whom Hyde, 28 Dec. 1652, speaks as an Independent, and as having married "a physician's daughter about Nottingham" (*Cal. Char. St. Pap.* ii. p. 165). He had a pass to go abroad in Sept. 1652 (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1651-2. p. 573).

1653. I had a private advertisement from a faithful friend in England, that doth not use to write news, that Massey is an absolute creature of the Rebels, and was by them suffered to escape^a that he might have the better credit to do them service in foreign parts. Others here, I am told, have had like cautions given them of him, but you there will never give over confiding in Presbyterians.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

^a Feb.
15

I see as yet very little probability of obtaining any treaty from these States towards the supply of Scotland; but Lt. Gen. Middleton^b tells me he is endeavouring to get something from his countrymen in these and other parts for that work Mr Holder,^c a very busy and importunate agent for the Presbyters when I first knew him at Beauvais and Breda, and it seems is no less now for the Catholics. He is a prime confident of Sir Marm. Langdale's and of Sir Rich. Grenville's, which last is no more uneasy a man to be pleased or inconvenient to converse with than the former of them.

TO THE E. OF ROCHESTER.

^a Feb.
15

These States do most absolutely formalize upon giving the K. his due title of K. of Great Britain in their order concerning the freedom of their ports for all such men of war as have commissions from our Master, merely out of fear to disgust and exasperate the English Rebels, whom they have stiled most injuriously a Republic.

TO THE E. OF ROCHESTER.

^a Feb.
15

There died here on Friday last Myn Heer Paw, the greatest enemy

^a He was committed to the Tower, 27 Nov. 1651, after the defeat at Worcester, but escaped 30 Aug. 1652 (*Cat. St. Pap.* 1651-2, pp. 35, 387).

^b Like Massey, Middleton had escaped from the Tower, 11 Jan. 1652 (*ib.* p. 101).

^c See vol. i. pp. 297, 298.

to our Royal Master and the best friend to the English Rebels of 1653
any man in power in this state. He was sick but a few days.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

17 Feb.

I received lately two letters from the E. of Rochester and as many from your precious agent Mr. Taylor^a. . . . They both say that an Emb^r from these States is there much desired and would be very welcome thither; and that, if these States shall by a public minister recommend the K's cause to the Emperor and Electors, &c., they believe all the empire will contribute to His Majesty's Restoration. I have hereupon conferred with some of these States about sending an Emb^r into Germany; and, albeit these have long since laid aside the thought thereof, yet some of them have promised me to set it on foot again.

TO THE E. OF ROCHESTER.

4 March, 1653 N. S.

Yesterday the Princess Royal had notice of the Duke of Gloucester's^b arrival at Dunkirk on this day sen'night with his tutor and two or three servants, being by the Rebels sent over, who gave the tutor (one M^r Lovel^c) 200*l.* to make provision of cloths and other necessaries and to pay the expense of his exportation and delivered him Bills of Exchange to several merchants in Antwerp to pay him 500*l.* on sight and 500*l.* more in 3 months. The Duke is by this at Antwerp, whither the Pss. Royal hath sent Mr. Thomas Howard,^d

^a See vol. i. p. 307.

^b The resolution for his release passed the Council 14 Jan., and the warrant was issued on the 17th (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1652-3, pp. 102, 464). See Clarendon, *Hist.*, ed. 1849, v. p. 369.

^c Richard Lovell, who had been tutor to Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, grandson of the Countess of Leicester, in whose charge the Duke had formerly been placed. Clarendon has a favourable notice of him (*ibid.*) Several letters from him will be found further on.

^d Second son of Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Berkshire, and himself 3rd Earl in 1679; or 4th son of Sir Will. Howard of Naworth, and younger brother of Charles, 1st Earl of Carlisle.

1653. the Gent. of Her Horse, to wait on him and to bring him to her hither, intending to have him here with her till the K. shall think good otherwise to dispose of his Highness, being now not full 13 years of age.

EXTRACT^a OF A LETTER FROM VREN.

5 March.

Tho' I have little to say, yet I cannot forbear the giving you the trouble now and then of a letter; and in this I must needs lament the Lord Rochester's carriage at Ratisbon. There they say he is frequently drunk in public, and in his drink talks at random against the House of Austria and the evil offices the late K. received from it; and in particular of late at the Duke of Wirtemberg's table, where were present divers Gentlemen of the Chamber to the Emperor, who acquainted his Imperial Majesty the same night with what passed, but he seemed to take no notice of it. I cannot think it should be in his Instructions to carry himself so. Mr Taylor being present did what he could to divert the discourse, but the other took his advertisement so ill that they were like to have fallen by the ears yester. I would our good K. knew the truth of such things. For my part, at this distance I know not how to go about it, and therefore I shall leave it to your discretion, who are nearer and may have better occasion.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1st/₃ March.

Some now tell me that the virtuous E. of Disart is gone to England to his daughter,^b who is said to be a very powerful favourite with Cromwell. . . . It is here said that Col. Bampfield,^c

^a Apparently sent by Nicholas to Hyde and referred to by the latter in a letter of 10 Oct. (*Cat. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 262). Who, or where, "Vren" was, I cannot say.

^b Elizabeth Murray, best known as the wife of John, Duke of Lauderdale, whom she married in 1672, being then widow of Sir Lionel Tollenmache (d. 1669), and Countess of Dysart in her own right. See an account of her in Burnet, who speaks of Cromwell's fondness for her (*Hist. of his own Times*, ed. 1833, i. p. 448).

^c Col. John Bampfield, who had contrived the escape of the Duke of York to France in 1648. He was afterwards one of Cromwell's spies at the Court of Charles II. (Thurloe, *St. Pap.* ii. p. 516).

being a great confident of those who have now power in the Highlands in Scotland, goes oftentimes into the Low Lands, and there stays a month or 5 weeks together, and then returns into the Highlands, making them to believe strange things of a great party of Scots that are ready to join with the Highlands against the English there. I doubt he gives intelligence to Argyle of all the Highlanders' motions, strength, and designs, and have wished some here that have correspondency with the King's friends in Scotland to advise them to be very wary of him. . . . 1653.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

8 April, N. S.

This morning the Pr. Royal sent for me and with many tears told me that she had now received a letter from the K. (agreeable to what I shewed her yesterday in your letter), to send the D. of Gloucester to Paris. . . . She doth with too much reason apprehend that this may be an artifice of some papists powerful with the Queen (besides her Majesty's intention and perhaps inclination), who have a further design in it to gain this young Duke (who is full of spirit and very apt and forward in learning) to turn Roman Catholic, upon some large promises to make him cardinal and to settle on him other great preferments.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

17 April.

Upon letter received by the last week's post from Paris it is here commonly and confidently reported that the K. hath sent the Lord Taffe and an Irish Ecclesiastic with credentials to Rome in the nature of an Ambassador to the Pope, to offer that, if the Pope will assist his Majesty in recovering of Ireland, this his Majesty will not only establish Popery there, but (as the intelligence from Paris saith) turn Catholic himself. . . . Many good men's fears are not a little increased by the K.'s sending for the D. of Gloucester at this instant.

After I had written thus far I received your 18th of the 1st of

1653. April. I wish that what you have now writ to me concerning the K.'s sending the Lord Taffe and Dr Caloghan^a to Rome may satisfy others better than it doth some I here meet with that have singular good affections to the K.; and I am sure it makes the Presbyterians here exclaim with open mouth against the K.'s Council. . . . Why do not you tell me that the E. of Bristol^b is sworn of the K.'s Council? Was my new Ld. Keeper^c sworn of the Council or only Lord Keeper? Or did his Ldp. take both these oaths?

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

14 April.

I received your 19th of the 1st of this month, and have acquainted the best of princesses with the K.'s and Queen's peremptory commands for the D. of Gloucester's journey, whereto she submits in tears. . . . I am very glad there is so very great a concordancy amongst you all there and pray it may long continue so. I do again repeat to you this truth, that the now ruling party among the States of the Province of Holland had much rather that the present government of the Rebels in England were well established than that the K. were restored, and would much rather contribute to that than to this, so as the Pride and Insolency of the Rebels would suffer them but to live and traffic quietly on any tolerable conditions.

TO THE E. of ROCHESTER.

18 April.

I have spoken with several of the States here touching their

^a Dr. J. O'Callaghan—"an honest man, and always preached obedience to the people" (Hyde, in the letter referred to just below, *Char. St. Pap.* iii. p. 158). The mission was abandoned owing to the opposition of the religious orders and the Jesuits, and the alarm of many Protestants (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 200).

^b George Digby, 2nd Earl, who had just succeeded, his father having died on 6 Jan.

^c Sir Edw. Herbert, late Attorney-General, sworn in as Lord Keeper, 8 April (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 191).

expediting an Ambassador into Germany, who tell me that until 1653.
they shall see whether there will be a Treaty or no between these
States and those in England (for as yet there is no Resolution here
taken concerning it) and what is like to be the issue of such a
Treaty, they intend not to send any embassy into Germany. The
D. of Gloucester is preparing to go into France . . . but the K. hath
promised the Princess Royal to send him back to her after a short
stay in France, only to see his mother the Queen.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1 May.

Lord Wentworth^a arrived here on Sunday . . . a very intelli-
gent person, and will, I believe, do his Majesty as much service in
his negotiation as possible. But I fear the scene where his employ-
ment lies will not in this season produce fruit answerable to his
abilities and industry; for without all question the K. of Denmark
will and must steer the same course as the States shall do, his
interests being so essentially involved in theirs, as I apprehend he
will shew himself no farther concerned for the K. our master or
against the Rebels than as may stand with his agreement lately
made with these States. . . . The Lord Wentworth and Lieut.-
Gen. Middleton are now both here and we have met and had con-
ference of their several Negotiations; and they are both agreed how
to proceed therein, so as not to thwart, but to assist each other. . . .
Lieut.-Gen. Middleton tells me he will acquaint you with all, and
that he hath sent you the notable intelligence he lately received
from Scotland, where the Remonstrators (as I think he calls them)
have declared that they will have none of the present Government
by the Rebels, but will have an Elective K. not of the K's. family.
Some conceive they intend Lord Jermyn's dear friend, the Marq.
Argyle, and that it is concerted between Cromwell and Argyle that
an Elective K. should be in such manner proposed first in Scotland

^a Sent on a mission to Denmark to ask for arms and other help. See his Com-
mission, 15 April, in *Col. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 192.

1653. the better to infuse the thought of it into the English Rebels ; and that Cromwell and Argyle (who are said to have been ever dear and close friends) intend to share the two Kingdoms between them. And I conceive that this design of theirs were fit to be insinuated in England, so as it might be put into the heads of the Independents there as a Design of the Presbyterians, for so you will find it to be.

Col. Take^a (whom some think an atheist, but a great oracle in this little Court) attends the D. [of Gloucester] to Paris, and hopes (as I am told he hath made friends there and here) to be his Highness's Governor by Lord Jermyn and the Queen's means. I will undertake for him, if he can get that charge, he shall not stick to conform to any profession of religion.

I assure you all good and prudent men here that I converse with say the K. hath done very well to forbear the sending the Lord Taffe or your friend Dr. Calloghan to Rome, albeit some say it hath been principally the Queen's doing, because they were to have gone upon the account of the Jansenians, of which profession that Doctor is a chief man; for, albeit it were to be wished that the Pope might be truly informed of that business, yet the prejudice that would arise to the K. by sending any person to Rome will be doubtless, thro' the malicious scandals that would be raised by the Presbyterians and others, much greater than the advantages that may thereby accrue to his Majesty.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

8 May, N. S.

. . . . The E. of Rochester either will not trust me with any of his business, or he is absolutely the most awkward and unskillful correspondent that I ever held intelligence with, for he never answers any thing wherein I desire to be informed in order to the K.'s service and many times mistakes what is written to him. He

^a See vol. i. p. 288.

complains that he hath not received any letter from me these three posts, whereas I never fail to write and send my letters still, as himself directed, to S^r W^m Curtius, who acknowledges the receipt of mine, which the E. of Rochester rarely does. Are you sure that he does not, when he receives my letters, put them in his pocket and forget that he received them?

1653.

Let me tell you, and remember I have done so, that very many of the States here (who wonder that his Majesty sends for the D. of Gloucester, and believe it is with design to have him made a Catholic) will judge of his Majesty's affection to religion and of his firmness to his word by what he shall perform in this particular, viz. of the duke's sudden return to Holland.

If you had any feeling of my necessities, or had that kindness for me you speak of, you would send your letters that are for the Queen of Bohemia's family under a cover to S^r Cha. Cotterel,^a who may be paid for them, and not stuff your letters every week with others epistles. One guilder is more to me than ten to you, who are there supplied, as I am credibly assured by those that know it. I pray give him leave to say so that may, for ought I know, starve within these 3 months.

S^r Ed. Walker I am sure, is a very infortunate, ambitious and foolish man, that studies nothing but his own ends, and every day hath a project for his particular good; and if you do him one kindness and fail him in another, you will lose him as much or more than if you had never done any thing for him.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

1st May.

Masséy would have his Majesty appoint the Marq. of Newcastle to be Ambassador from him to these States, or some other person that is perfectly well affected to the Godly Scots Presbytery.

^a Master of the Ceremonies to Charles I. in 1641, and knighted at Oxford, 21 Mar. 1644-5. At this time he was Steward to the Queen of Bohemia, and in 1656 Secretary to the Duke of Gloucester (*Archæologia*, xaxv. p. 343).

1653. . . . You are now I hope satisfied that there is (thanks to God) no more Parliament in England,^a but all is there to be governed by the General and Councill of Officers. I am clearly of opinion he will now very speedily put on to make himself or some other (that shall be at his devotion) to be elected K. and I hear y^t [it] is now openly in churches the daily practice of the godly ministers to pray to God to send them a David to walk in and out before these his chosen people; which change I apprehend may be more durable, and worst of all for the K., whom God preserve. I hear that some (if not all) of the chief judges have declared that the Parliament cannot be dissolved but by itself; and that generally all the Presbyterians are of the same opinion. And albeit the alteration hath been made with[out] any visible opposition, yet it is doubtful how the holy City of London and the people will take it. But they are I conceive so sufficiently awed, as none will dare appear against the present prevalent power.

I am so far in debt here as I expect daily some affront to be put upon me for it, having lately failed payment of a small sum that I owe

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

12th May.

. . . . The States Express just return'd says that, as soon as the parliament was discharged, Cromwell went immediately and dismiss'd the Council of State in like manner; and when Bradshaw began to dispute that they satt by Authority of parliament, he was told y^t, if he and his company would not depart by fair means, they should be forced. Whereupon, they all rose presently and voided the room, which is now possessed by the Decemvirate or ten Worthies that now reign far more absolutely than ever any King did in England I will believe they will at length pitch upon an Elective King, which possibly may make as great a rent and division among

* The Long Parliament was dismissed on 19 April.

the officers of the Army (who now, as you see, manage the supreme and sovereign power) as any that hath yet happened among the worst of Rebels. 1653.

TO LORD WENTWORTH.

$\frac{17}{27}$ May.

I understand by some passengers that are lately come out of England that (as the inclosed also intimates) Cromwell did rather join with Lambert and Harrison to preserve himself than that he did form this great alteration of the Government in England, and that he hath no such absolute power in England or in the Army as some apprehend at Paris and here, but that his Authority depends very much upon the interest of the other two Commanders and their fanatic faction.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{19}{29}$ May.

If you find the K. weary of my service (as by the small encouragement my honest endeavours in his service have had I have reason to believe), I conjure you, by the friendship you have long professed to me, let me know it without further delay, and do not suffer him that rests so intirely on your affection to be not only neglected, but made a scorn to those that hate him and all goodness. . . .

Honest Mr Clutterbocke writes from Bruges where he lives, that the Bp. of Derry^a is very great and intimate there with the rogue Lilburne, who boasts very much of his friendship and power with the D. of Buckingham, many of whose letters to himself he hath (I hear) showed to that excellent Bp. . . . In earnest, I would not advise Prince Rupert to come hither himself untill he have leave from these States. . . . I must tell you Mr Sheringham,^b whose book I have sent you, is a divine, and now officiates in the Princess

^a John Bramhall (see vol. i. pp. 222, 318).

^b Robert Sheringham, ejected fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Wood says that he taught Oriental languages at Rotterdam (*Ath. Oxon.* iii. 1108). For his book against subjects opposing the King with arms, see *Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 143, 243.

1653. Royal's family. He is of Cambridge, a very honest and learned man, and his book well worth your perusal, notwithstanding you have read and written much on the same subject . . . The Prince of Condé being lately at Antwerp drank openly there a health to Cromwell, as to the wisest, ablest, and greatest commander in Europe.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1^o June.

Mr Tho Howard and others lately returned out of France I hear report that they never saw more plenty and bravery than is now in the King's and Queen's Court, nor people that live in a more splendid and expenceful way, notwithstanding (they say) all there complain extremely of great want. And I must tell you I have heard some, that came not long since out of England, say that the K.'s friends there affirm they are assured that it is so; and that to contribute to any supply for his Majesty were but to maintain luxury. . . . I am very sorry to find in every of your letters that the K. is resolved so suddenly to leave France. . . . I should give more faith to the many prephesies in behalf of our gallant master if I could once see him do (as you say you advise him) his own business himself, without being governed by anybody; for since God has given his Majesty so excellent understanding and judgment in affairs, certainly God will not bless him till he makes use of those great parts he hath given him.

In the late sea-fight^a the Dutch have been notably beaten and extremely cow'd. The English are now absolute masters of the sea. . . . I have written to my Intelligencer to continue his advertisements, promising him payment for two months and half. And therefore I pray procure that there may be 50*l*. forthwith paid to Mr Tho. Nevill, a woollen draper at the sign of the Crown in Paul's Church Yard, to be disposed of as Mr John Dirido shall

^a On 1st and 13th June, the English being commanded by Blake and Monck, and the Dutch by Van Tromp and De Witt.

direct, and I will take order that my friend shall send for it, or that it shall be sent to him, for he is a very cautious man. 1653.

I am loth to prejudice the success of the E. of Rochester's negotiations . . . but I may tell you I much apprehend his credulity is not well founded; for, if I hear truth, the Emperor and princes of Germany will do little for the K. unless these States take him by the hand.

TO LORD WENTWORTH.

12th July.

Col. Tuke sending a challenge to S^r Robert Starismere,^a they met in Flanders on Saturday was se'nnight; and S^r Robert receiving a slight hurt in the groin or belly (having, even when he fought, so great a fit of the stone on him as M^r Tuke, before they fought, wished him in a friendly manner to put off fighting till he were well of it) fainted with it and continued very ill for a day or two; and then, when all men thought the danger past, he suddenly died to the great sorrow even of M^r Tuke, who (I hear) behaved himself very gallantly, like a gentleman, in that business.

I am no less grieved than I perceive your Lordship is, that there are still so great divisions in his Majesty's Family and Council. . . . The King's party in Scotland increases daily. There are 13 Earls and Barons there declared for the King, whereof Marquis Huntley,^b the young E. of Seaforth,^c the Lord Lorn, son of the Marq. of Argyll, the old Lord Chancellor Loudon, the Lord Beaucarres,^d and the E. of Athole,^e are some; and they have 7,000 that they can draw into a body, when they please.

^a Of Stareshore or Frolesworth, co. Leic. (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, iv. p. 190); knighted at Breda in 1650 (B.M., Add. MS. 32162. f. 84b).

^b Lewis Gordon, 3rd Marquis, 1649. He died in December of this year.

^c Kenneth Mackenzie, 3rd Earl, 1651. He submitted to Monk on 10 Jan. 1655 (see articles in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 13).

^d Alexander Lindsay, 2nd Lord Balcarres, 1641; cr. Earl of Balcarres, 1651. He retired abroad in 1654 and acted as Charles's Secretary for Scotland.

^e John Murray, 2nd Earl, 1612.

1653. TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

31 July.

I have had this week no letter from my best Intelligencer, who I doubt is discouraged, finding I feed him only with promises without effects

I received the inclos'd packet for you from my Lord Wentworth, who writes to me that he is now assured of the truth of what I ever told him, that, if the Hollanders make a peace with the Rebels in England, the K. of Denmark will not dare to do anything either publicly or privately for the K. of England. He also adviseth me that Col. Bampfield with two Scots Gentlemen are come thither from the Highlands of Scotland, being employ'd to the K., and having letters also to the K. of Denmark, the Princess Royal, the State of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburg; and that his Lordship hath seen their Instructions signed by the Lord Seaforth, then President of the Council of War, and divers other officers of quality in the Highlands; and that what concerns Denmark they have put their business into Ld. Wentworth's hands. He saith further that they intend to be speedily with Lt.-Genl. Middleton, and have divers letters to press him to come speedily to them and expressing their great joy of his having the command of them. I pray consider well of this advice from my Lord Wentworth, and compare so much as concerns Bampfield with the intelligence I herein send you from England; and let me receive the K.'s directions thereupon, and move his Majesty to write to the Princess Royal how in this business he would have her receive Col. Bampfield.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

7 Aug. N. S.

I acquainted you the last week with what my Lord Wentworth wrote to me touching Col. Bampfield. You will by the inclosed intelligence from my best Intelligencer (which I received not till the day after the last post was gone from hence) see what esteem they have in England of that Col., and having spoken of him and that business to Lt. Gen. Middleton, he saith he hath the

very same advertisement from England of that Col., and he did conceive that Bampffield had been now in England. There is one Col. Jones (that had sometimes some relation to my Ld. Hopton), who tells me that he lately met Col. Bampffield and S^r John Henderson^a at Homburg (the Col. being then going to Copenhagen) and observed that there was great intimacy and privacy between that Col. and S^r John Henderson, the latter of whom, he saith, was resolved (after his conference with Col. Bampffield) to return to Ratisbon, but on what occasion Jones knew not. I have advertised Lord Rochester of it and wished his Ldp. to inquire (if he thinks fit) of S^r John Henderson, what he knows of Col. Bampffield's employment and affections to the K's service. . . . It is an infinite inconvenience and disparagement to his Majesty's counsels and affairs to have all his resolutions thus divulged and rendered the discourse of every idle pen and of all sorts of people; and it will never be otherwise (I may say it to you) while the K. doth so freely discourse of (as I hear) all his affairs of greatest secrecy openly in his Bed-chamber.

I am sure I have in my former told you that my Intelligencer did weekly disburse about three parts in four of what I was to have given him to others that did furnish him with Intelligence; and you will see by one of the letters I now send you how he complains for want of means to satisfy them. I shall write to him this week, as you do to me, that I cannot for the time to come undertake for the payment. If the gentleman had kept all the allowance for his own particular, I should have doubted his affection; but I assure you he is recommended for a singular honest and able man, and I believe him to be no other, and am heartily sorry I am not able to continue him any longer.

^a He proved a traitor, like Bampffield. See his letter to Cromwell offering information, $\frac{1}{2}$ July, 1654, speaking of his own release by the Protector's favour from Edinburgh Castle and his son's release after the battle of Worcester (Thurloe, ii. p. 467). "Homburg" is for "Hamburg."

1653 TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

14 Aug.

I understand y^t Lord Percy by advice of his Oracles Lord Culpepper and Lord Jermyn went the last week from Breda towards Paris to [take] possession of his office of Lord Chamberlain and to be sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council. I wish that before the K. gives order for it he would look on his blessed father's recommendation of that good Ld. to the Queen of England in his two letters in print dated the 13th of March, 1644, and the 25th of Febr. 1645. I shall be glad if this his Ldp's preferment may be so welcome news to his Majesty's best friends in England as to encourage them to constancy in their loyalty. But this I say only to yourself.

The children's late insurrection in this town for having their trumpet taken from them by the Fiscal, when they came this day sennight on horseback on Sticks and Hobby Horses in their warlike posture to bid the Prince of Orange welcome to the Hague, proceeded no further than to the breaking of the windows of the houses of that Fiscal, of the Baylieu, of one of the Scouts, of the house where the States of Amsterdam lodged, who, they said, were enemies to the Prince, and of the Heer de Witt (the new Pensioner of Holland), who with much ado saved himself at a back door, running into a neighbour's house without hat or cloke (as I hear) and thence to the Court for safety. The late great sea-fight happening to begin the Friday^a (being the next day) so near as within sight of this Town diverted all men's minds and the further prosecution of that unhandsome and tumultuous rising, if there were any design in it, so as all here is now very quiet.

I find the Princess Royal is passionately against the having Count William^b to be Lieut. General.

^a Monck's victory of 29, 31 July, Van Tromp being killed.

^b William Frederic, Count of Nassau-Dietz, Statholder of Friesland. He married in 1652 Albertina, sister of the late Prince of Orange. He had just been nominated by the province of Zealand lieutenant to the infant prince as captain-general (Thurloe, i. p. 369).

There is here a very deserving Gent. Capt. Mewes,^a who, being a M^r of Arts and Fellow of St John's College in Oxford, took arms for the K. (now with God) and serv'd Capt. of a company in his Majesty's Guards ever since the beginning of the Wars, wherein he hath received at several times near 30 wounds, and was taken prisoner at Naseby. This Gentleman, being a very good scholar and perfectly loyal (as M^r Crowder,^b the Duke of York's Chaplain, well knows), is desirous to have the place of Philosophy Professor at Breda and is an humble Suitor to his Majesty to recommend him for that charge to the Princess Royal, wherein I pray be pleased to move the K. for his letter and that it may be as effectual as you can procure it; for indeed the gentleman is most deserving, and that employment may qualify him the better on any good occasion to go into England, where he hath amongst all the K.'s party, as well soldiers as gentlemen and scholars, a singular estimation. I pray expedite this as soon as you can, that he may not be prevented, there being some about endeavouring for it, that were never in the K.'s service, and that are not so capable of it as Capt. Mewes.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{18}{23}$ Aug.

I was this day told here by a very honest Royalist that your friend S^r Richard Greenville (whose confident this person is) acquainted him lately at Breda that he had sent to the K. proofs under the hands of [a] very good man that S^r Ed. Hyde is a pensioner of the Rebels in England; which was to me news indeed. Why have you said nothing to me of it in all this time, since I am

^a Peter Mewes, ejected from his fellowship in 1648. He had his reward after the Restoration in numerous preferments, ending with the bishoprics of Bath and Wells (1672), and of Winchester (1684). See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* iv. 888. For Hyde's answer, see *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 186.

^b Joseph Crowther, fellow of St. John's, Oxford, in 1628 (ej. 1648), and prebendary of St. Paul's in 1642. After the Restoration he became Regius Professor of Greek (1660-5), Principal of St. Mary Hall (1664), etc., and died in 1689 (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* 1500-1714).

1653. confident the K. hath not concealed from you that he hath received such an information ?

Lt. Generl. Middleton was with me yesterday to acquaint me that he hath received from Colonel Bampfieid an invitation to meet that Col. and the two Scots gent. at Antwerp, which I have wished the Lt. Gen. to do. We both of us believe that Col. is gone to Antwerp of purpose to speak with the E. of Dysart, whose agent the Lt. Gen. believes that Col. is. By this meeting at Antwerp I suppose that Col. intends not to come this way.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

4 Sept. N.S.

If Lord Percy be made Governor to the D. of Gloucester, the sweet D. will be very unhappy. Indeed, if the design be to have that sweet D. made a Papist, it may peradventure be a good step towards it to have him first bred an Atheist.

I shall follow your Advice^a concerning Capt. Mewes (of whose sufficiency and ability Mr. Crowther can give you satisfaction) and will move the Princess Royal for him.

As concerning the Princess Dowager's professing to the States of Holland that she did not desire that Count William should be Lieut. General, and that she believes that it would not be good for the Prince of Orange that he should be so, I believe it to be no mystery at all ; for I am confident the Princess Dowager never said any such thing, and that it is a mere Fiction of Mons^r Henfleetes, who (I may tell you) all that here best know him say is so admirable at inventions, as he rarely speaks a true word.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

11 Sept. N.S.

I hear that the virtuous E. of Dysart says he believes that Col. Bampfieid betrays all the K.'s Business and Friends in Scotland to the Rebels in England. *Clodius accusat moechum*. It is, I hear,

^a See *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 186 ; and *Cal.* ii. p. 243.

an Art much practised where you are to speak ill of those they most confide in. 1653.

The Lieut. Gener. [Middleton] hath shewn me his letters from Scotland, wherein it is said that, if the K. show any great countenance to Col. Bampffield or to any other from S^r Rob. Murray^a or of that faction, it will absolutely discourage Glencarne^b and his party, who are the only right affected men in Scotland; and that all the rest are gained by Marq. Argyle and his Faction. Whereof I pray take special care thereof.

TO LORD WENTWORTH.

⁵/₁₅ Sept.

Col. Bampffield came not by this place, but I hear that he and his company went from Antwerp (where he had been some days) on Friday last towards Paris. Dr. Morley^c writes to me that he had much discourse with that Colonel, who acquainted him at large with all his business; what letters he had for the K. and from whom, and professed that, tho' he knew he lay under the ill opinion of his Majesty and most about him, it should not discourage him in doing what he could for the K's service I marvel that passing so near these parts he did not see L^t. General Middleton, nor appoint where they might have met. But I may tell your Ldp. the L^t. Gen. hath had with him two expresses from Scotland since that Col. came thence, who bring him certain notice that the government of the King's Affairs in Scotland is totally changed since that Colonel's departure thence. For, when he came away, all businesses were managed by the Ld. Belcarres, but now the Earl of Glencarne governs all in chief there; and that

^a Sir Robert Moray or Murray, afterwards Secretary of State for Scotland; known also as one of the founders and first President of the Royal Society. For a eulogy of him, see Burnet, ed. 1823, i. p. 108.

^b William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, 1631; the leader of the Scotch rising of Aug. 1653.

^c George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (see vol. i. p. 208).

1653. that Earl and all the party now appearing in that Kingdom for the K. do declare that they are for his Majesty's interests without any Conditions, Covenant, Restrictions, or Reserve, which is certainly the only right Way to do his Majesty's Work; for any other Bargaining, conditional, or half ways beget nothing but factions and divisions, which have always proved fatal and destructive to all his Majesty's Affairs.

Lieut.-Gen. Middleton hath lately sent hence a small proportion of Munition to Scotland, and is now in treaty with a Committee of the States General for a great proportion both of Arms and Munition, whereof they give him hopes, but I doubt that they will do nothing whiles the Treaty in England continues.

I am told that Sr Marm. Langdale is labouring here (as he hath been some time in Zealand) to procure a Squadron of Ships from these States to be put under the command of Prince Rupert, upon a letter he received to that purpose from his Highness.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

½ Sept.

Mr Nich. Armorer, a servant of the Princess Royal, going to England in about a fortnight upon some particulars of his own, would be glad to receive his Majesty's commands, being well known to, and well beloved by, all the K.'s party not only in the North where he was born, but in Shropshire, Staffordshire, and those parts, and resolv'd to correspond with Sr Edw. Nicholas.

Tho' you say little [in your letter of the 1th 1653] of the K.'s very gracious Reception of Col. Bampfild, yet I assure you both Tho. Howard and Boswell report that that Colonel hath not only been extraordinarily well received by the K. but is become so very gracious at Court, as it is there believed he shall be by Lord Jermyn's means restored to his place about the Duke of York.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

2 Oct. N. S.

I am glad that the French are so much alarmed at the proposi-

tion of the Coalition [between England and the United Provinces] 1653.
 for, albeit the same may upon the general dislike of it be laid aside
 for the present, yet assuredly, if there shall be after this any con-
 juncture made between the English Rebels and these States, it may
 justly give all Monarchs jealousies and apprehensions what may
 thereby come to pass, and what such a conjunction may produce or
 turn to in time.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

16th Oct.

The small Remnant of inconsiderable persons here that seek to
 uphold the Presbyterian faction, such as Bunce,^a Boswell, etc., do
 now confess and lament that so chosen a vessel as Col. Bampfild
 hath no more regard at Paris than he hath.

Since my last I have been told that St Walter Vane hath written
 hither that the K. of Denmark hath by some of his Ministers sent
 to St Oliver Fleming^b to know whether, if he should send an Em-
 bassador into England, he would be welcome. But I believe that
 is a story of Fleming's own making; for, if any such thing were, I
 presume it would have been known to Lord Wentworth, who says
 nothing, but on the contrary by his letter of the 25th of Sept.
 O. Style writes that the K. of Denmark hath lately at his instance
 effectually recommended to these States by their Ambassador now
 in Denmark the assisting of his Majesty; and that that K. hath
 told the said Ambassador that such is not only his desire but his
 Advice for the public cause. I hope, this being the first K. that
 hath done himself the honour to recommend his Majesty's cause to
 these States, that other princes will for their own honour and the
 interest of Monarchy follow so princely and pious an Example.

Before the Princess Royal's going to Tyling on Monday I
 acquainted Her with what I wrote to you in my last touching

^a James Bunce, Alderman of London; knt. in May, 1660 (*Her. and Geneal.*,
 iv., 1867, p. 282).

^b Cromwell's Master of the Ceremonies.

1653. Mons^r Beverning's^a discourse in England with Mons^r Bordeaux the French Ambassador there about this State's Resolutions to abandon the prince of Orange and his family, when her Highness told me that she had indeed heard that Beverning proves a Rascal; and so, I much fear, she will find some others in whom she hath more confidence.

I continue sometimes on occasion to correspond with Count William, albeit I have no great confidence in him, having heard and observed him to be so avaricious and ambitious as that he will for his own ends and advantage do that which I cannot understand to become a person of his quality to do. His former permitting the two provinces whereof he is Governor to comply with the States of Holland in sending first of all commissioners into England was certainly a great assurance of his great inclination to hold fair with that party here (which without all question will never confide in him); and now again he hath lately suffered the province of Friseland (where he hath absolute power) to adhere too much to these States of Holland. So as I have too much reason to apprehend that Count W^m seeks himself so much in all that he does, as there is no depending on him; and I very much doubt that, if he should be made L^t General, it would be very prejudicial to the prince of Orange.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

6 Nov., N.S.

Because I have heard the K. hath been told that the Elector of Brandenburg's Embassadors at Ratisbon did not there move anything in behalf of his Majesty's interest, I have herein sent you an Extract of the Substance of that Elector's Suffrage there concerning his Majesty, which is delivered me by the Queen of Bohemia, who assures me it is truly extracted.

^a Jerome van Beverninck, one of three Dutch envoys sent to England to treat for peace at the end of June, 1653. He remained behind when his colleagues returned in August (Thurloe, i. pp. 299, 389)

Tho' you say nothing to me of your intrigues, I am told by M^r O'Neile that Ld. Culpepper hath lately shewed Mons^r Henfleete a letter which he received by the last post from Ld. Percy (whose Agent that Lord is), wherein Lord Percy says that he hath reconciled the K. and the Queen, who were, when he the K. went to Chantilly, at great difference; and that Lord Percy hath (as he writes) so ordered businesses in the little courts with you, as it is believed the person that hath been the cause of the misunderstanding between their Majesties will be shortly sent from Paris. And when Ld. Culpepper was pressed to tell who that person [was], he said it was S^r Edw. Hyde. I am very confident that Ld. Culpepper shews that letter to M^r Howard, S^r Marm. Langdale, and others of his acquaintance here. In it, I hear, Ld. Percy makes great boasts of the great interest he hath both with the K. and Queen; which Ld. Culpepper is not sparing to divulge, as believing it an advantage to his credit to have it known that he is so very intimate with so powerful a Minister of State as Lord Percy and his vassals report him to be.

1653.

TO LD. WENTWORTH.

10 Nov., N S.

I presume your Ldp. hath from France notice of the K.'s Resolution very shortly to leave France and to go into Scotland, as soon as it shall be convenient for him, to which purpose he hath commanded L^t General Middleton to prepare himself to be gone for Scotland as soon as possibly he can. But the grounds and reasons of this result (tho' it is said it was long in debate in council at Paris) I do not understand nor can penetrate, for methinks it is not possible well to determine what may be left for the K. to do untill the issue of the present Treaty in England shall be known. And I believe the Success of that Treaty may yet alter that Counsel. In the meantime I conceive it not amiss to forbear discoursing of it. . . . I have herein sent your Ldp. an extract of my last Letter from my Lord of Rochester, that you may thereby see the

1653. good news that he writes in his Ldps. own words. The cheerfull contribution^a of the Emperor and princes in Germany (now in the time of so great poverty of that country) is of excellent Example to all other princes, and a very great honour and reputation to his Majesty's cause.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{2}{13}$ Nov.

You say in your letter (of the 7th of this month) that the K. is graciously pleased to bestow on me the benefit of a Baronet, for which I am humbly thankfull, and desire you to send on the Warrant for it, which it seems you forgot. I am not certain that I shall be able to get a fit man for it, but am promised I shall, and I assure you I am drawn extreme low.

It is most certain that Count W^m. is now very much for a peace with the Rebels in England, whereof I have several good assurances. This, I conceive, is a sufficient reason to make me change my opinion of Count W^m.; but I have other reasons, which I may not mention.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{15}{27}$ Nov.

. . . I have herein sent you a copy of an order which the States General have given to L^t. Gen^l. Middleton for leave to transport a good proportion of Arms and Munition into Scotland; which licence was gotten against the will of the ruling men in the Province of Holland, who, tho' they took time to consider of it, durst not oppose it, being so unanimously agreed unto by all the other provinces. The difficulty will be now where to find money or credit to purchase so much munition and arms, wherein the industrious L^t. Gen. is very diligent.

^a A sum of 200,000 rix-dollars was granted to the King by the Diet at Ratisbon (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 263).

1653.

SIR ROB. MORAY^a TO WILLIAM MURRAY [EARL OF DYSART].

SIR,

I have received yours of the first of this moneth to y^e great content of myselfe and your friends; we had not received one letter from you in six weekes before. Bamfeild hath satisfyed me of your resolution for France, at the which I was troubled, by reason that I could not dispatch our friend so soone as I desired, though he hath been long in readines for that undertaking. But I thought it fitt to see a little more of our neighbours, which indeed are very strong and resolute, and, if Middleton prevaile before our friend comes into those parts, our busines wilbe checked for the present. As soone as he comes, he shal give you a true account of all things. We all desine that you would be pleased to dispatch him as soone as you can, but be not seene to go with him, nor stay nor (*sic*) long after him where you are; for we thinke not fitt that you should be there, when he puts this busines in execution, but that you would move slowly towards France. I have never yet seene a man undertake a busines with that cheerfulness. Our friends here do assure me that he will finde no hard taske in this matter, by reason that sometymes for his pleasure he goes so slightly guarded. Sir, I thinke it very necessary that you should furnish him with money

^a This is the forged letter referred to by Burnet, ed. 1833, i. p. 110: "Sir Robert Murray was in such credit in that little army that Lord Glencairn took a strange course to break it and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at Antwerp as writ by him to William Murray of the Bedchamber [Dysart]. . . . He had a lewd creature there, whom he turned off; and she to be revenged on him framed the plot against him. This ill-forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir Robert had made with Monk for killing the King, which was to be executed by Mr. Murray; so he prayed him in his letter to make haste and dispatch it. This was brought to the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Robert was severely questioned upon it and put in arrest." See also Hyde to Nicholas, 27 Feb. 1654, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 221; and *Cal.* ii. p. 279, etc.

1653. enough, that he may haue no want of that. I haue no more for the present, but pray for our succeſſe and your Lo^{ps} health. I am

Your Lo^{ps} most humble and most faithful ſervant.

ROBERT MURREY.

Scotland, 19 Novemb^r, 1653.

For the right honble. the Earle of Dizar, in Antwerpe.

Copy by John Nicholas.

COL. JOHN BAMFFIELD^a TO THE SAME.

f. 140 b. MY LORD,

Since I wrote last to your Lordship I had some letters from Scotland, amongst them one from S^r Robert Murrey, who is more satisfied with the posture things there may yet be brought into, if they shalbe prudently managed and according to reason in this place, then with the present condition they are in at this time. They complaine much of our proceedings amongst them, who manages y^e busines there with greater height then his interest in the Highlands (which is none at all) or any endeavours of his, which were none greater, to bring affaires there to the state they are in, can any wayes give him title to. Even my Lord Balcaris,^b who is more his friend than most others, is not without his feares of it. Some of your very good friends are much discontented, but not to that degree to abate any thing of their activity or constancy in the prosecution of what they haue undertaken. I am confident you will sooner then you can well imagine see one in your parts who will give your Lordship a full account of all things in that king-

^a See above, p. 6. The genuineness of this letter was admitted (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 301).

^b Above, p. 15. Sir Robert Moray married Sophia Lindsay, his sister.

dome; and peradventure be an occasion of bringing you this way, 1653.
 where you may finde things setled in so much a better condition
 then they thinke they are for the present, that you may be welcomer
 hither then it may be you thinke you can be now. My Lord of
 Rochester hath written very sanguinely hither about his negotiations
 at the Dyett, that he hath the assurance of fifty thousand pounds
 sterling, that one particular person hath undertaken to raise and
 transport two thousand foote, another to furnish 20,000 armes and
 twenty peeces of cannon and not expect satisfaction for either till
 the King be restored; but all this is but yet promise y^e performance
 wherein England concerning which I have seene some letters thence
 to a good friend of yours here, that speake very discomfortably
 of it.

I haue an opinion that the next post from hence will tell you of
 some great change in our little court. Here are some eminent
 persons in great disorder, and like to be pressed hard upon, at least
 some things to be carried contrary to their interests and inclinations.
 As soone as I see the conclusion of it, I shall advertise you of all
 particulars more fully then for the present I dare do, both in regard
 of my selfe as well as the trust my friends have reposed in me.

St. Menehoud^a is taken, and the court remouing hither suddenly,
 and with them my master,^b whose reputation is raised beyound
 beleefe among the French, and is likely to do well here, let things
 succeed how they will in other parts, This is all the news I can
 remember at this time

Your Lo^{ps} most obedient servant,

JO. BAMPFELD.

Paris, y^e 19th November, 1653.

Copy by John Nicholas.

^a Ste Ménehould in Champagne, surrendered by the Spanish to the Maréchal du
 Plessis-Praslin on 26 Nov.

^b The Duke of York.

1653.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

Add. 4180,
f. 107b.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

4 Dec. N. S.

I hear and believe that your friend Mr. Whitelocke's main errand into Sweden is to get that Crown to join with the Rebels to take the Zound from the K. of Denmark, as a sure and speedy means to ruin these Countries and to be masters of the greatest part of all the Navigation and Trade of these parts of Xtendom.

This week I received a letter from Nic. Armorer dated $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ of November, wherein he writes in these words: "I find the K.'s business in a fair readiness, if his Friends here be put in the right way. But it will be most necessary for him to fix on one or two of the most prudent to make it their business to attend his affairs, and to put them into a form that there may be no clashing. This is the sense of all his friends that I speak with. I leave it to you for the satisfaction they are to receive in it; and the sooner the Resolution is taken in this the more it will be for his Majesty's advantage. And unless such a course be taken there will be much more uncertainty in the success." These are his words. I have written to him, that it would be best that the K.'s side there did among themselves agree on some fit and faithfull persons, in whom they most confide, that will undertake such a charge as he mentions, and that, if any such shall desire any powers or directions from the K., that it will be sent them by such way as they shall direct for safety; for that I have told him I conceive the K. cannot so well know who, being fit and willing to take such a Trust, will be agreeable to them, and I have desired him to advise hereof with some of the K.'s best and discreetest friends there, assuring him that they may have what they shall reasonably desire from the K. in order to his affairs there. And I have desired him to let me hear of it from him as soon as he can conveniently. I pray let me receive his Majesty's commands in this particular, and

how he approves of what I have done in this. But as you love the lives of honest men, say not a word of this to any but the K. and Marquis of Ormonde. 1653.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

11 December.

I am your mind that all things in England are reduced to so great a confusion merely on design in the present governors there to make any tolerable Settlement or Order acceptable; for the Laws being in a mannar abolished, the Chancery taken away, Religion confounded, and Parliaments (so much idolized by our nation) annihilated, the people will submit to anything that may probably seem to secure them and their Estates.

I much doubt I shall not be able to procure a fit man for it [the Patent of Bar^t], albeit I therein make use of the same person to help me in it (the E. of Norwich) as Mr Holles^a did, but this Country affords few men that affect titles of Honour.

I am persuaded (as you say) that Lord Jermyn and his Friends do not believe that his interest is very great with the K. Nay, I tell you I have heard that not only Lord Jermyn himself but many others believe that the K. hates him, and that is it which astonishes all and discourages some good men, that, notwithstanding his Majesty's ill opinion and diffidence of Lord Jermyn, yet he is not only employed and trusted as *Premier Ministre* in the management of all his Majesty's greatest and most secret affairs, but overbears his Majesty even against his own judgment to do some business, and to prefer many men even against his Majesty's interest and affection, and causes his Majesty not only frequently to alter his resolutions but even to break his promise made without his Ldps. privy, that the world may see there is no relying on anything but what is done by Ld. Jermyn and his Friends means and mediation. Of all

^a Gervase Holles, to whom the King two years before had given a blank warrant, for which he had only recently found a purchaser (Hyde to Nich., 28 Nov., *Col. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 279).

1653. which too many give very many instances, which, I may tell you, reflects with extreme prejudice on his Majesty's Honour, Courage, and Conduct in Affairs.

The Lord Willoughby, an old Presbyter, hath, I hear, written to Mr Tho. Howard that the people in England will rise for the K. tho' the Dutch should make a peace. The Presbyterians and that Faction (whereof most that have been unfaithful to the K. are), being a crafty and perfidious Generation, will be very vigilant upon any alteration to render themselves valued, and to get the K. to put his confidence and much power in them. But I hope his Majesty understands them too well to rely in any of them.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

^a
18 Dec.

The honest Lt Gen. Middleton . . . hopes to send for Scotland this week about 1500 Arms of several sorts and about 40 Barrels of powder, etc., which is all he can for the present procure.

I assure you I do with you apprehend nothing more prejudicial or pernicious to his Majesty's interest than that Cromwell should by any title take on himself (as it is evident it is his design) the Sovereign power in England; which tho' some here (wiser than I am) make light of, I very much fear, as affairs now stand at home and abroad, may meet with in England and procure from foreign princes (who are not yet sensible how much they are concerned in this prodigious usurpation in England) too great a compliance, unless some strange judgment fall on him for his so proud an arrogancy.

Capt. Mewes intends to go shortly to Scotland with Lt. Genl. Middleton.

1653.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

7.

Paris, 1^o [Dec. 1653].

I have receaved your 6th but cannot get as yet the fault mended Eg. 2534, f. 144.
of bringing me yours very late. I trust my good old frend will
outlast me and be a frend to mine. My old frend ghesseth right
that *Lord Percy* will fill *the court* with such as formerly ruined it.
I assure you he is the great ruler at present and bussy in the *faction*
against Sir Ed. H[ylde], as is likewise *Dr. Fraiser*, who is the most
furious fierie *politick and Presbiter* that ever I yet saw, and cer-
tainly, what you and I ever ghesseed, a very false *person unto Mar.*
Ormond and Sir Ed. Hyde, who have stuck to him; but *Sir Ed.*
Hyde now perfectly knowes him, and I am confident *Sir E. H.* will
stand firme. The gentleman whose service I presented you last
with in his own handwriting will not owne to me the *Lady*, and I
believe him. I pray let his name stand in his fathers place in our
cypher; ther may be occasion to say something of him ere long.
It was *Mr. Hen. Seymour*^a that was heere. I pray God he smart
not, for it is knowne, and soe is his English employment publikly
talk'd of, and nothing is more ordinary then for idle people to aske
when *Mr. Seymour* will send over *money*. As for the debt you men-
tion of *Pr. Rupert* unto *Lord Keeper*, I am confident it was long
since discharged, for sure I am the *Lord Keeper*^b told me 3 yeeres
since there was only 300*l.* remai[ni]ng due, which was lent at
Pr. Ruperts first setting out with the *fleete from Holland* under *Pr.*
Ruperts command, and that was paid when *Pr. Rupert* put in at
Toulon. And I am sure they now owe *Pr. Rupert* seventeen hun-

^a Vol. i. p. 131, etc. He was reported to have been in Paris and to have had three secret interviews with the King (Hyde to Nich., 9 Jan. 1654, *Cl. St. Pap.* iii. p. 209).

^b "716," the same cypher which above has been interlined "Lady." There also, however, "Lord Keeper" was first written, but has been erased. Elsewhere, as just above, "516" stands for "Lord Keeper."

1653. *dred pounds*, soe as they ride on the fore horse, and that will at a day of reckning breed ill blood. I will be very punctuall in rendering you an account of *the Kings voyage*^a with the circumstances. Your newes of the breach of the treaty betwixt the Dutch and English Rebels is very good newes, if it hold; as I ever thought (with you) it would happen. Yet wee have Yong Politicks heere who will needs give out the Holland Ambassadors were sent for back and the treaty concluded, but I hope for much good newes by your next. The Duke of Yorke is a most glorious yong Prince; nether *Lo. Keeper*, nor *Lo. Percy*, nor *Pr. Rupert*, nor *Sir G. Ratcliff*, nor *Sir Jo. Berckley* signifie not much the best of them *with him*. It had beene most happy that *the Duke of Gloucester* had still continued in *Holland*. I beseech you tell my dearest Lord *Norwich* he shall have a rapper next week

Your owne intirely,

S. S.

RICHARD LOVELL.

SIR,

- f. 145. . . . I am glad the most excellent princesse findes it not a necessarie expression of kindnes from her brother, that hee should breake off all civilities with those from whom her R.H., I beleeve, has at some times not receivd enough. However, the liberty shee is pleasd to give my master I doubt hee will hardly make use of this post, because hee will have his attendance on the King to be a necessarie excuse. On Wednesday the cardinall came to visit his majestie and told him then by the intelligence hee had the treaty in England was like to end in peace; and though some letters say otherwise, yet I see not reason enough to lay aside all feare. The Queen is now at Chaliot, and this is the third day since shee went. The King spake of goeing to visit her by and by, in which minde

^a From Paris into Germany, first to Aix and finally to Cologne.

if hee continue, my master will lose his designe of writing; and 1653.
 in case hee faile I beseech you give this reason for it both to his
 most deare sister and the Queene.^a I use sometimes to reproach
 his Highnes with the debt hee owes my noble Lord of Norwich.
 Hee tells me (then) that hee will pay, but the truth is, hee has of
 late acquainted himselfe so little with Latine, that I beleeeve hee
 apprehends it painfull to doe anything in that language, and to
 defend himselfe with any other weapon then that which his adver-
 sarie has chosen hee thinks not honourable. Entreate my good
 Lord not to mistake the terrour which his style has begotten for
 unkindnes, for I am confident the Duke is verie affectionat to him
 and will be carefull to shew it in answering the next provocation
 hee shall give him. I would have written thus much to his Lord-
 ship myselfe, but that I have been hinderd by severall occasions
 this day already, and am not sure that I shall have liberty to dis-
 patch this in a convenient time.

1707552

Wee are here most deeply in warre amongst ourselves; the
 Chancellor has been accusd of treason for holding correspondence,
 &c.; and the examination of that has been the greatest busines the
 councill have had of late. The matter came out thus. At a meeteing
 where there were many who were enemies to the Chancellor and one
 who was not, amongst many invectives usd against him, one was that
 treason was imputed to him, and hee had not cleard himselfe from it.
 To this my Lord Taffe was the man that reply'd, that though hee bore
 a respect to the chancellor, yet hee would soone breake it off, if any
 such thing could be proved against him, and that for his part, unles
 the companie forbad it, hee would tell the chancellor what was sayd, to
 the end hee might cleare himselfe. Leave was given him and my Lord
 Gerard undertooke to make good what had been sayd. So when Mr.
 Chancellor came to the knowledg^e of this, hee himselfe moved that
 it might be examin'd before the councill. Mr Long, I heare, is in

* The Princess of Orange and the Queen of Bohemia.

1653. town, and a great instrument in this affaire ; but, though the counsell have sat twise or thrise about it, I doe not heare there appeares any more then that there are some who excedeingly desire the chancellor should be guilty.

On Munday night last (I thinke it was) there was a great uproare in the streets neare the gate of this pallace, in which Mr. Teuke receivd a hurt that might have prevented him for ever giving more to any other man. The storie in short is that M^r Borrell ^a (the Ambassadors son), M^r Brasset, M^r Teuke, &c., were at a taverne together, where, a quarrell arising below staires betwixt some of the footmen and the master of the house, the gentlemen themselves became engagd against that force which the master of the house rayd by crying out in the streetes, &c. The fray lasted for some houres ; in it M^r Teuke was hurt and one M^r Dorp (that came into France when wec did), but neither mortally. The ambassadors sonn had one of his coach-horses killd, but himselfe and the rest of the company escap'd without any wound at all. This day was buryed here a freind of Nic. Armourer's (pray what becomes of him?) M^r Fran. Nicholls, the elder of the 2 that were with the Duke of Yorke. Yesterday M^r D[ean]^b Cosens, as hee was readeing evening prayer, fell down in a swoone, which made us for some time apprehend an apoplectick fitt ; but, thanks be to God, hee is now againe reasonable well. Had hee gone, it had beene a great losse to our church here. The Duke receives all your remembrances verie kindly and commands me to returne them, which if I sometimes forget, I hope you will pardon, Sir,

Your most humble and most faythfull Servant,
[RICHARD LOVELL].

Paris, Dec. 26, 1653.

Unsigned, but endorsed by Nicholas ; Mr. Lovell.

^a John, son of Sir William Borcel, Dutch ambassador at Paris (vol. i. p. 318).

^b John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham (vol. i. p. 159, note).

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

8.

Paris, 30 Dec. 1653.

. . . . The matter of this weeke being extraordinary and your f. 146.
 cypher being more ample then our *good Earle of Norwich*, I must
 intreat his *Lordship* to receave it from our truest frend *Secretarie*
Nic[holas]. Know then, Sir, that lately *Lo. Gerrard*, *Lo. Mus-*
kerry^a and *Coll. Bamfeild* being in company with *Lo. Taffe*, it
 pleased *Lo. Gerrard* to call *Sir Ed. Hyde* Traitor; att which *Lo.*
Taff tooke offence and said he was his frend, and he could brooke
 no such language untill it were proved. He then gave leave to
Lo. Taff to tell ether *Sir Ed. H.* or the *King*, with an assurance it
 should be proved, and they were all three free of their tongues
 against *Sir Ed. H.* Heereupon *Lo. Taff* tells *Sir Ed. Hyde* what
 passed. *Sir Ed. H.* importunes the *King* that they might be called
 to their proofes; whereupon upon Munday last late in the evening
 a *Councell* was summoned, att which were present all the *Council-*
lors and *Queene* to boote. And in their fancy *Sir Ed. Hyde* was
 devoured, the designe being laid and prepared by *Lo. Keeper*;
 but, when they came to the bussines, *Lo. Gerrard* spent their tyme
 till 10 at night with cavils and circumstances, as pressing that *Lord*
Taff should set downe in writing what *Lo. Gerrard* had said to
 him. *Lo. Taff* answered gallantly that he appeared not there as
 a tale-carrier, but as a person that in an honorable way desired to
 discover and prevent a treason against his Majesty, and that, if he
 should take the quallity of a tale-bearer upon him, he should tell
 many impertinencies that fell from them att that discourse,
 whereof he supposed they would be ashamed. The bussines being
 referred till next day, to the end that they might drive the naile

^a "562," with "Lo. Muskerry" interlined; no doubt a mistake for "462," i.e. Sir John Berkeley. Donogh McCarthy, 2nd Viscount Muskerry, was at this time being tried for his life at Dublin (*Cat. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 285, 298).

1653. more home, *the Lo. Keeper* was pleased to spend all the night and sett up with the informers and accusers to draw up a charge. Next day *the Councell* met againe, and then Parturiunt Montes and produced a headless story that *Mr. Ed. Windham*^a had told *Sir Rich. Greenerille*, who had writ it to *Mr. Long*, who writ it to this towne, that a certaine person who passed by the towne where *Mr. Windham* resides said he had heard that *Sir. E. H.* had beene in *England with Crumwell* and was a pensioner to him, with such trash, from whence the accusers and *Lo. Keeper* had drawne many consequences and proposed many probabilities; but att last *the King* did most gallantly reject all the accusation as a vaine thing that had beene formerly suggested to him by *Lo. Gerrard* and found by his *Majestie* to be false and ridiculous and sent for *Sir Ed. H.* in, who was withdrawne, declared him innocent in his opinion and deeper in his favor then before, being sensible that for his sake, as he trusted him most, *Sir Ed. H.* had suffered this treatment. And soe all is husched at present, but *the Queene* was much engaged in itt, and *the Lo. Keeper* discovered himselfe as much dejected att *Sir E. Hydes* cleering as if that had beene a condemning of *the Lo. Keeper*. This account I have receaved from a good hand, yet I suppose I shall tell you more of itt by the next post. *Dr. Fraizar* (for whom I pray lett 505, which is now Frankendall, henceforward stand) hath beene violent against *Sir Ed. H.* and bussy in other affaires, [and] hath beene much reprimanded and remaines dejected. He was very bussy likewise in setting up *Lo. Percy* to attempt to be *governour unto the Duke of Gloucester* and to place some *Scots* deputy under him, and cries out that above all other sorts of men there must be noe devine of the church of *England* about *the Duke of Gloucester*. It appeares this great attempt

^a Colonel Edmund Windham, Resident for the King at Boulogne. The correspondence between Grenville and Long, with Long's letter to the King, is printed in Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. pp. 69-83. See also Clarendon, *History*, ed. 1849, v. p. 356.

against *Sir E. Hyde* was not in hopes to prove him what they 1653.
 accused him for, but that they might remove him (by their
 clamour) from action and introduce *Mr. Long*, who wee heare lyes
 hid heere in *Paris* upon the confidence that they should give the
 blow. I may tell you from a good hand *the King* is most firme to
Sir Ed. Hyde and most resolved against *Mr. Long* and most un-
 satisfied with *the Lo. Keeper*, whom he hold[s] most unfitt for *his*
place. As to your question and my deere *Lord of Norwich* his in-
 terrogation of *the Kings* motion from hence, without doubt the
 place is as yett totally undecided; whether unto *Germany* or unto
Holland cannot yet be resolved till the treaty betwixt the *Rebells*
 be determined. As to the tyme, *the King* beleeves he may move
 within six weeks more. Be confident I will watch to informe you,
 though I doubt not you will have it from more authentick hands;
 and soe I pray assure our noble frend. Your deere frend Collonel
 Tuke hath beene in a late scuffle, where he hath gott a knock; but
 it is thought he hath given the Host of the Cabaret a mortall
 wound, whereof they say he cannot escape, soe deadly it seemes is
 that Collonels hand. The action was after supper, having spent
 their tyme in the house the whole day from morning to night by
 the charme of the good wine. . . .

Your owne,
 S. S.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

9.

Paris, 2 Jan. 1653.

My last gave you confusedly the relation of *Sir Ed. Hides* f. 148.
 busines; but know now more punctually the charge delivered in
 by the *Lo. Gerrard* in writing^a consisted of three parts, his goeing

^a See *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, iii. p. 73; and *Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* ii. p. 287.

1654. into England to treat with Cromwell, his being a Pentioner to the Rebels there, his saing att Chantilly to the *Lo. Gerrard* in private conference, by way of giving him the reason for the slow proceeding of the Kings affaires, that (amongst other reason he gave) the King[']s lazines and shunning of bussines was one. And to the former accusers there is added Mr Massonet^a that hath writ under Mr Chancelor. The charge passeth for ridiculous; the noble L. Gerard is much pitied to be made Lo. Keepers instrument of his malice to a degree soe high as to abandon his honor by accusing a man of words spoke to him alone, which, if they had beene treason, should have beene much earlier discovered. The King doth exceedingly upon all occasions countenance Sir Ed. Hide, whom he beleeves suffers for his sake. He doth him many extraordinary graces and one would thinke Mr Chancelor had hired these persons thus weakely to accuse him that he may come of with more honor and give him more credit with his Majesty.

Mr Boswell is arrived heere with the greates newes of the Breach of this second mungrill Parliament^b The Ports remain stopt, unless this night bring us letters, for wee have had none for 3 posts past. It is very happy Col. Leighton and Mr Boswell pass up an[d] downe soe safely that they may tell all they know to both sides. I pray beleieve my intelligencers and frends are no whit deceaved in *what^c I writ unto you of his Majesties expressions of Lord Percy and the Lord of his party* in England; for it was not words taken up at random, but a discourse and argument, and could a letter containe the whole it would appeare plaine enough. I have in that point more

^a Peter Massonet, writing-master to the children of Charles I., "a man who had served him (Long) and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions during the time of the King's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester" (Clarendon, *Hist.* v. p. 357). His letter to Long on the subject is in Lister. iii. p. 62.

^b The "Little" Parliament, which met on 4 July and resigned its powers into the hands of Cromwell on 12 Dec. 1653.

^c "439," deciphered "you." There appears to be something wrong also at the end of the ciphered part of the sentence.

strings then one. I hope you did not apprehend I told it you approving itt or that I would tell it to two more. I heare nothing of Bamfields preferment and should not thinke him in a faire way to it in the present conjuncture. Propable *Sir Jo. Berckley* is his way, but I should thinke it at present via devia. I have allready put to my whole strength to persuade *Mr. Lovel*. Prince Rupert is next weeke expected, having made an ill bargaine by staing to long ere he concluded his good bargaine. There is great expectation of his arrivall in this conjuncture, though I beleeve his prudent carriage will deceave some that would perhaps engage him to deepe. *I heare from a good hand the King will be affectionatly plaine with him and offers him the right way, if he will take it. As for the Duke of Buckingham, he is after the old way, noe church or religion; but he now waites and, as I heare, is not soe fierce in the present bussines against Sir Ed. Hyde as some would have him. Noe more is Lord Percy, though, beleeve me, even in their opinion at present the Marquis of Ormond and Sir Ed. Hyde are farr from reckning Lo. Percy for a frend or inclining that way. Wee have newly arrived good newes from Germany. The take of 200,000 crownes is now sett, and the Emperor declared his present shallbe apart. The Electors have declared the assisting of the King, and there is a severe edict against all the Rebells bookes that shallbe turned into Latine or Dutch and there vented in Germany, with some other particulars I have forgott and I am sure you will receave more punctually from Sir Ed. II. It past all both colledges at Ratisbonne not only nemine contradicente, but an inclination expressed to have gone higher. This, with the English disorders, sets all heere on a high pin, but the breach with the Dutch would elevate us yet higher. That wee attend from your coasts. I pray lett my ever deere Lord Norwich know, were he stedly, my letters should be soe, and that I only stay to obey his comands to let him know of the Kings remove, which I now beleeve more than ever, because of this confirmation from Germany, but withall I*

1654. beleeve by *the Queen, Lo. Jermyn, Lo. Keeper and his faction* will be opposed more then ever, because they find *the King* discovers them soe as that the *Queenes* faction about *the King* will signifie little after *the King* shallbe gone hence. I will render my dearest Lord an account with the first minute. His servant *Sir H. de Vic* is arrived heere, I pray tell him, but will not be aknowen to me to come upon other arrant then to begg for reliefe or else necessities overwhelm him, as he saith, that he must retire with ruine

Sir, yours eternally,

S. S.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

Add. 4180.
f. 111.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

8 Jan.

I am not a little troubled (but more for the K.'s sake than yours) to hear the strange stories written from Paris the last week concerning the unskilful (to say no otherwise) accusation pressed eagerly against you at Paris. I may tell you, the countenancing that gross and ridiculous charge against one in your place, and the abetting such factious combinations against persons of the best and clearest reputation about the K., gives in these parts a very unhand-some character of the K.'s court; for all these things reflect principally and with infinite prejudice and dishonour on his Majesty's conduct and government.

I assure you it seems to me to be the saddest change that could be to have that bloody Rebel^a so enthroned.

^a Cromwell, installed as Lord Protector on 16 Dec. 1653.

RICHARD LOVELL.

1654.

SIR,

With the continuance of my most humble thanks for your continued favour, I shall begg leave now to answer something to that opinion which you and Dr. Morley agreed in concerning my unintermitted attendance upon the charge I have. First, Sir, be pleas'd to know that as, since I came to serve this sweete prince, I have accounted nothing deare to me in comparison of him and his benefitt, so have I the same affection still, yet doe not thinke that the best prooffe I can give of it is never to depart from his side. This I suppose you will lesse doubt of, if I shall make it appeare to you that it will scarce be in my power to keepe his service unles I be excusd from it for a time. Be pleasd then to take notice, all the money the Duke had is utterly consumd and more, for there is some owing to me, that I have layd out for his Highnes uses ; nor has hee now any to dispose of, but what I supply him with out of my little stock. To be upon better termes till there can be a pension gotten for the Duke (which they say is not yet, but will be ere long) is scarce reasonable to expect, the Queene's allowance not beeing vast to maintaine a much lesse quality then hers, only with what is necessarie to herselfe and such a retinue as shee keeps. When a pension is gotten, perhaps the payment will not be verie exact. If that be so, yet perhaps it will come but slowly to us that serve; and, if I be brought into want, which way should I shift? I know none of our nation here that has money to lend; or, if they have, who would lend it to me. And lesse can I expect to finde credit with the French (should I be driven to seeke it), to whome I am altogather unknown. It is true, perhaps this necessity is not at the doore (I thinke it not wisdome to expect till it come there), but I shall tell you how neare it is. The most of the money that I have I have put into my deare little masters power, to use as hee

Eg. 2531.
f. 150.

1654. shall please for the maintaineing of his recreation, the pleaseing of his fansie in such things as it may become him to desire, and the doeing of such generous princely acts as hee sometimes takes occasion for. This perhaps beeing kept secret (for no money that hee is known to have can last long) may serve both his turne and myne for a while, though, if hee buy a horse that hee has a minde to here, that I am sure will goe deepe in the maine stock. Now, though it be true that I have a little more money besides what I have here, yet I suppose you would not advise me to runn into an irreparable want by spendeing all, and so fall into such contempt as I can not promise to behave myselfe wisely under. The surest way that I can think of to avoyd this is by obtaineing leave to goe visit my freinds in England, amongst whome I have a small annuitie (that I never receivd pennie of since I came on this side the seas) and may perhaps by such endeavours as I shall use be able to get that increasd to a proportion that (with the helps I shall have here) will maintaine me in a fashion somewhat agreeable to the honour of that relation I hold. Possiblie you may thinke this danger and trouble will be all prevented by the King's remove; but first I know not when that may be, and then, bee it when it will, there appeares to me in some powerfull persons such a purpose to stay my sweet master, that I can not but be in some doubt how the King will be able to maintaine his first resolutions. You hardly thinke how great ease you give to all my thoughts when you tell me at any time that the most excellent princesse Royal has a gracious sence of the care I take of her deare brother. Certainly a care I have of him, nor doe I know there is a concernment in the world (unles that I have for his familie in generall and particularly the head of it) that touches me more sensibly, which as I am confident I shall never suffer to dye, so I should be sorrie if the most incomparable princesse should take any occasion to thinke that it does in the least measure decay. If you please therefore, let her R. H. be made acquainted with this discourse (her pardon and

privacie beeing most humbly besought). If shee seeme displeasd 1654.
with my thoughts and inclinations, they shall never grow to resolutions, whatever I suffer. But I suppose, when all is considerd, I shall be excusd for beeing unwilling to be in want here and for apprehending that I may be so. I know it is an ugly time to mention goeing into England, and I protest to you, I should not doe it, but that appeares to me the only certaine expedient I have to secure both my better liveing here and my liveing in case I should at any time be so unfortunat as to lose my service. The freedome I have usd with you in this matter I beseech you pardon, and use the like in your returne.

Of the newes out of England^a most wise men here judge as you doe, that it will facilitate the peace; though others, who will imagine a good effect of everie thing, will have even this change also to be advantagious. Of late the setting of Councell has much been intermitted, which gives many persons the occasion of many conjectures; but, for my part, as I know not the cause, so I offer not to imagine it. I doe not finde that Mr Chancellour is verie hotly prosecuted; indeed, I beleeeve his adversaries are ashamd of theyr accusation, and wish it were as easy to recall injuries as to doe them. On Tuesday last that eminent convert Dr Goffe^b sayd his first masse, and was honourd with the companie of our Queen, &c. The same afternoone Mr Montague preacht at the English nunnerie, and was heard by the greatest part of this court. I was one who went to heare him, and returnd (notwithstanding all his witt and eloquence) without the least prejudice to my own religion or inclination to his. D[ean] Cosens, thankes be to God, is perfectly well againe. Prince Rupert is arrivd this day, but with what newes I cannot tell you; 'tis probable his coming may hasten both counsell and busines, one way or other. Mr. Long appeares

^a Of Cromwell's being made Protector.

^b See vol. i. p. 93, note; and for Walter Montague, p. 220.

1654. not yet in court, though in Paris hee has been this good while

Your most humble and
faythfull Servant

[RICHARD LOVELL.]

Endorsed: 1⁶/₁₀ Jan. 1654. Mr. Lovell.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

Add. 4180.
f. 111b.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1⁶/₁₅ January.

. . . Since Colonel Bampffield acknowledges his own letter, and is notwithstanding so much justified and magnified as an innocent person by some there, I hope the K. and Council will judge it necessary to command him to produce the Letters he therein mentions to have received from Scotland, and particularly that from S^r Robert Murray, and that he be interrogated what he means by the prudent managing of the Scots business at Paris? Who is it that he means manages the business in Scotland with greater height than his interest is in the Highlands?

RICHARD LOVELL.

Eg. 2534.
f. 152.

SIR,

Paris, Jan. 16 [1654].

To your last favour, besides my most humble thanks, I have this to returne, that, as I know not of any attempt that has been made upon my sweete master to lessen with him the credit of my good Lord of Norwich, so I am confident, if any such have been made, it has prevailed nothing, but the Duke has still as kinde an affection to him as ever hee had, and the only reason that I know of

why hee writes not is because hee is so much diverted, and verie often just at the time when hee should write. For my own part I scarce thinke that I have had 6 houres with him at his booke this 3 months, and I hope then his Lordship will not thinke that his faileings are from myne. 1654.

Mr. Chancellour has now brought his busines to an end, not without some shame indeed, but it is to those that persecuted him; to himselfe hee has gotten much credit, and the Kinge no lesse by his constancie in not beeing drawn by any importunitye to desert those whose greatest crimes are the serveing of him well. Mr Rob: Long has had his busines heard by the Councell also, and, though by the eloquence hee usd and other advantages hee tooke (in the absence of witnesses, &c.) hee made shift to obscure the matters of fact so as that they could not by full and cleare evidence appeare, yet has hee not so playd the-oratour, but that with many there remaines more a suspicion of his cunning then a beleife of his integritie. Hee has not yet the last judgement of the Councell. The king (you may beleieve) will be much importun'd to acquit him of the crimes layd to his charge, but whither or no hee be satisfied to doe that, I cannot tell.

I am extreame glad that the most excellent Princesse Royall keepes her beleife and confidence of that which I hope shee does not the least desire; yet give me leave to tell you what grounds there are for a contrarie opinion. Not long since the chamber allowd me in the house for my privat use was desird from me, in termes indeed unlike that of a command, but yet which had the same force with me, and for my greater satisfaction it was told me, that when the King went away I should have my choyce of roomes much better; which imported to me that when the King went my master should not. Againe, since the Dukes stock was exhausted, the servants wanting theyr wages, excuse was made that the Queenes allowance was too narrow to doe all things with, but that they were then labouring to get a pension for the Duke, which beeing

1654. obtaind, wee should have ample satisfaction; and this also I thought signify'd no lesse then that wee were to stay. I wish now I could but give you as good reasons to beleeve that, in case wee doe stay, my relation should be continu'd to me. This cause of distrust I have: only for putting into my masters own custodie some of his own money, out of which hee expended about 40 pistols to relieve the presseing wants of some (amongst whome D. Cosens) and engage the affections of others (amongst whome were severall of the Kings and Queenes and D. of Yorke servants), I was reproacht with verie sharp language, threatend (after a sort) to be complaind of to the Queene, and told in termes (farre from complement) that I was not fitt to be the Dukes tutour, if I had no more discretion then to put money (so much, and all was but an hundred pistols, of which but 40 were extravagantly given to pious and liberall uses) into his power. Now, Sir, if I receivd so great reproach for doeing that by which I intended only to preserve in the Duke a princelynes of minde and an inclination to such noble and generous actions as might doe him credit in the world, judge you what my reward would be, if I should through fraylty commit a fault that did indeed deserve to be so chastis'd. Something has been sayd to me since to alleviate the busines, but nothing that secures me from the expectation of severe usage, whenever there shall be occasion for it. I am therefore much strengthend in my purpose to begg leave to goe (before I be driven) to my freinds in England, there to get (as I have in part already) some annual incom that may enable me to live without disgrace in my masters service, whilst I have it, and to live also, when I shall lose that, which I am not unawake to expect. To have the most excellent princessse Royall satisfy'd with me I doe most infinitely desire, and therefore, if you thinke fitt, you may acquaint her with all I doe or suffer. But, for Gods sake, beseech her R.H. that nothing that comes from me may in any kinde be taken notice, either to any in that place or here. And besides her I know not any I would have

this imparted to, but such as I should finde it requisit to give the account to, my owne selfe. I suppose you have heard what letters have been gotten from my Lord of Dizard, which make a practise against his Majesties life to be suspected and Col. Bamfeild to be of the councell, if not an instrument in it. Of that therefore I shall say no more. Mr. Bosuile came hither with great confidence, I beleeeve, to receive that honour, his right to which hee has so long since proclaime, but as yet neither his title nor importunity have gott him admission; what more time and more importunity may doe, I can not tell. . . . 1654.

Endorsed : Mr. Lovell.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

11.

Paris, 16 Jan., 1654, st. no.

. . . . Upon Tuesday last at councell, after the King had fullier heard Lo. Gerrard, Sir John Barkely, Col. Bampfild and Mons^r. Massonet and Mr. Long, all accusers of Mr. Chancellor, it pleased his Majesty to declare that he never heard soe frivoulous an accusation in his life and wondred that such trash should come from some of those persons. But, because they laid all their lode upon Sir Rich. Greenville as the stirrer of them up to this accusation by his information, his Majesty sentenced Sir Rich. Greenville should never enter into his court, wheresoever his Majesty should happen to be.^a Upon the examinations of the said witnesses his Majesty shewd great abilities and gallant resolution in reproving the Lo. Keepers partiall conning questions and in interrogating himselfe according to prudence and justice. The next day they pressed for a hearing of Mr. Long, where, after a full hearing without gaining anything upon his Majesties judgement, they urged through the f. 153.

^a It was in answer to this that Greenville wrote the account of himself reprinted in Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, 1732, vol. i. p. 544.

1654. Lo. Keepers mouth that, since Mr. Chancellor was retained in counsell notwithstanding his charge, that Mr. Long might be soe to. His Majesty answered the Chancellor was kept in, not because he was charged, but because he was innocent and had approved himself soe to be by a more exact cleering himselfe from there charge of his being in England then could well be supposed a negative could be proved; and that there was another great difference in the case, since of all the persons had ever taken the liberty to speake unto his Majesty of the Chancellor untill now never any suspected his Honesty, whereas divers had accused Long of knavery and most of his Majestyes party held him suspect. The accusers were much deceaved in their expectation from Prince Rupert, for his Highnes intirely agreed in opinion with his Majesty for the frivolousness of the Chancellors charge, and said the attempt must needs trench at his Majestyes person higher then at the Chancellors, in that these men must aime to governe the King and therefore would deprive him of all ministers he could best confide in.

Upon a discourse yesterday betwixt the Lo. Keeper and the Lo. Ormond there hapned some sharpnes. The Lo. Keeper urged it was strange the King should make such a difference betwixt Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Long, whereas he held Mr. Long as good a gentleman as Mr. Chancellor. Prince Rupert standing by said the King made not the difference from their blood, but from the honesty of the Chancellor and the dishonesty of Long. The Lo. Keeper said he held Long as honest a man as the Chancellor. Ormond replied, "I, but the King thought not soe, and perhaps there were tymes his Lordship thought not soe" (as the King had put his Lordship in mind the day before). The Lord Keeper said it was not soe; Lord Ormond told him that to himselfe Lo. Keeper had formerly thought otherwise of Mr. Long. Lo. Keeper repeted again it was not soe, and that he would make it good in any ground in the world. The Lo. Ormond replied, perhaps his Lordship had a faculty to make any thing good, and

slittingly neglected him. To these great incivility[s] is this little Keeper come. I heare the Queene gives out shee is satisfied that this slander of the Chancelor was grounded on a mistake, and that he had sufficiently cleered himselfe. I heare there last plea is to be that Mr. Long having a Patent for his place he shall plead it. It is beleevd the King will be very resolute not to give himselfe the affront of receaving Long againe. Lo. Jermin was not fierce against Sir Edward Hyde, but very fierce for Mr. Long. Lord Percey carried himselfe swimmingly and said more for then against the Chancelor, yet soe as his goodwill appeared, if the King had not declared soe cleerely. Mr. Chancelor is to sad upon a consideration of the paine and trouble he apprehends his cause gives the King; but others thinke it hath done his Majesty much right in making his judgement and courage conspicuous to all, which was before knowne but to some that had the happines to have to doe with him. In fine, Lo. Keeper hath rendred himselfe very contemptible; his Majesty hath great Honor; Prince Rupert hath done himselfe Justice; the Duke of Yorke hath much supported his Majestyes opinion; Mr. Chancelor proves (what wee ever thought him) ianocent; Mr. Long still out; and the Kings party heere well satisfied. I had not tyme to put any part into cypher least this post should have beene gone nor matters it much, since it is heere common talke and very many report it who were as long sworde as my Lord Keeper to make it good on any ground. And in fine it may be avowed as farr and wide as I desire it should be known that I am, Sir,

Your owne,

S. S.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO LORD WENTWORTH,

²⁹ Jan.

I presume your Ldp. hath heard of the strange accusation violently prosecuted against Sr Edw. Hyde at the Council Board at Paris, wherein Ld. Keeper and Lord Jermyn shewed sufficient ill

AB. 112.
f. 112.

1654. will against honest S^r Edw. Hyde, whom the K. after a long and full hearing and debate cleared with much Honour to S^r Ed. Hyde ; and I have here lately seen a letter written with his Majesty's own hand, wherein he calls the charges against S^r Ed. Hyde malicious scandals, which had no kind of truth, and which weigh nothing at all with him. I am extreme sorry that such Divisions and Factions continue still in the K.'s court and councils ; which reflects with much prejudice on our gallant master. But I hear that in this particular the K. behaved himself so gallantly as shews he knows how, and can, when he will, be master of his own business and counsels.

TO S^r EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{1}{2}$ Jan.

. . . . I am very sorry for the death of Lord Muskerry,^a who was doubtless a gallant person, and I believe he was now very firm and faithfull to the K. and very considerable amongst the Irish Catholics. But he hath been held to have been at least privy to the first bloody Rebellion in Ireland, which you know contributed infinitely to the miseries in England ; and I observe that God hath by his judgments cut off many that had a hand in that horrid Treason.

L^t Gen. Middleton tells me he will find the letters to you [which he had received lately from Scotland], and which will shew you that there is great intimacy between S^r Rob. Moray and the L^d Belcarres, and that they are no great friends to L^t Gen. Middleton and those most trusted in his Majesty's affairs in Scotland.

L^t Gener. Middleton and I having again attended the Princess Royal for her answer touching the 1000£, which sum and no more (as I wrote in my last) L^t Gen. Middleton desired her to give

* See above, p. 37, note. This was a false report from Hyde, 9th Jan., corrected on 30th (*Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 210, 214). Muskerry was to be re-tried on 2nd Feb., but was ultimately acquitted, and became Earl of Clancarty in 1658. His wife was a sister of Ormonde, and he is said to have owed his acquittal to Lady Ormonde's influence with one of his judges (*Carte, Life of Ormonde*, ii. p. 162).

credit for, that he might thereby be enabled to hire ships for transportation of himself and above 200 officers and gentlemen that are ready to go with him, her Royal Highness absolutely refused to give credit for that small sum; so as I know not how he will be able to make shift to go for Scotland. 1651.

RICHARD LOVELL.

SIR,

Paris, Jan. 23.

. . . . As yet I heare not that this days letters are come from England, but those which came on Tuesday did a little cleare our lookes, for they brought newes of the breach of the treaty and departure of the Commissioners, of great succes in Scotland, and of 6 or 7 regiments in Ireland that dissented from the laste change; and, if this be true, wee may perhaps see a fall as prodigious as the exaltation of that beast. Mr. Chancellor has seen an end of his busines, such I beleeeve as hee would desire; but of Mr. Long it can not be so sayd, for the King would not acquit him from the crimes layd to his charge, nor yet spend more time in examining of them to the hinderance of his other affaires. Which resolution some have not been verie well pleased with. Particularly my Lord Keeper tooke occasion to expresse his dislike, by saying the Chancellors case and Mr. Longs were all one; at which time, beeing put in minde by my Lord Marq^s of Ormond that in so saying hee reproacht the Kings judgement and contradicted his own which hee had often declar'd before (which was that Mr. Chancellor was a verie honest man and Mr. Long a verie knave), hee forgott himselfe so farre as to tell my Lord Lieutenant^a (in termes verie unbefitting either y^e courtier or the Keeper) it was not so, and that hee would justify it, &c. Which intemperance was no otherwise chastisd then by an example of much the contrarie; for my Lord Marq^s at the

Ms. 2534.
f. 161.

^a The Marquis of Ormonde.

1654. present only advertisd him that hee was angrie. But the next day calling to minde that my Lord Hatton had been in companie when those words were spoken, hee sent to him to know what his Lordship remembred of such a discourse, who sent back a testimonie not only confirmeing what my Lord Marq^s had sayd, but of many other verie sharp censures which my Lord Keeper had passd upon Mr. Long, however hee be his freind and advocat now. So that it is not only one example of an inconstant judgement that you have to wonder at here; for I scarce know who there is that cleaves to any freind or opinion upon those foundations of virtue that are unalterable. And though the King by his resolution and behaviour in this busines have given cause for another judgement to be made of the easines of his nature then has been made by some, yet, as I understand, hee is not lesse troubl'd with importunities now then if he were as mutable as the kindnes and judgements of other men are. I am persuaded that, besides the mischeif which our divisions here have done to his Maties affaires and credit, they cause him a more uneasie life then any servant that hee keepes. God in mercie, if it be his will, remove this fatall meanes and marke of our yet farther calamitie.

In my last I writ you a large account (and the like to Dr Morley) of what had befalln my selfe in particular, to which I have only this to add now, that some meanes has been usd to satisfy me better in what pass'd then. For my part, I am willing to beleve the best that is told me, haveing no imagination of any pleasure in those animosities in which some men perpetually frye. I have no thoughts therefore of doeing anything out of discontent, and even that reasonable resolution which I was inclind to take for the preventing of want and the ill effects of that I have for a while suspended, since I was told that the King will for certain verie shortly remove from hence and for no reasons whatsoever leave his brother behinde him; in which case I shall, I presume, be lesse lyable to very presseing necessities. I beseech you acquaint Dr. Morley with what I write to you, and be pleas'd to let me know what you agree in concerning me. To that which

I writ to him in my last I have verie little to add now, and make no doubt but hee will easilie excuse me for not takeing too many occasions to be impertinent. I faile not frequently to put the Duke in minde of writeing to his freinds, particularly to those princesses of Aurange, but besides the naturall unaptness hee has for that exercise, sometimes when hee yeelds to be engagd hee is otherwise hinderd, nor is it possible for me to get all things done here that I thinke to be fitting. This weeke hee writes to nobody at all, but has indeed whereon to excuse it. . . .

Your most humble and most faythfull servt,

[RICHARD LOVELL.]

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

O SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{12}{25}$ Jan.

It hath been by wise men long observed that the most mischievous scandals and derogating Defamations that were spread of the K.'s blessed father and his Councils were ever raised and abetted in his own Household and Court; and that gained such scandalous Reports the more credit abroad and made the deeper Impression among those that heard them.

I am now out of all hopes of getting any man that will be a Baronet; and truly I know not how I shall be possibly able to subsist two months longer, my credit being quite exhausted in England as well as here.

I pray by all means keep the K. firm to his Resolution to carry the D. of Gloucester out of France with him, whensoever he removes.

Many good men here are of opinion that Mr. Long deserved to have been as deeply censured as Sr Rich^d Greenville.

1654.

INFORMATION OF LADY PAGE.

[29 Jan. 1654.]^aEg. 2534,
f. 142.

The Lady Page^b saith that being at Antwerp and having occasion to speake with the Earle of Dizar she came on an afternoone to his lodging, where she found him, and discoursing with him concerning the busines she came for, before she had ended her discourse she was interrupted by the coming in of the Lord Conwey,^c Mr. Tho. Howard and others, who carryed him out with them. And the weather proving very foule, she desired she might have the favour of the coach which they brought with them to carry her neere her lodging; which the Earle of Dizar refusing, she desired she might have the liberty to stay in his chamber untill the weather were fairer, which he assented to. Immediately after his Lordships departure she called for the Landlord and Landlady of the Lodging; and hearing that there was an English merchant in the house and they desiring he might come in, he came in with them. The roome being narrow, she going to sit downe on the bed and removing his Lordships night-gowne she espyed two letters, the one sealed, the other open, which she put into her pockett. After this she sent for Mr. Watson, servant to the Marquis of Newcastle, who with the rest of the company continued with her a while and afterwards went home with her to her lodging, where the merchant and Mr. Watson continued an howre or two. When they had bene a while with her, she presented the open letter, which was that from Sir Robert Murray, to Mr. Watson, desiring him to reade it to her (her selfe not being able to doe it), which he perceiving to concerne the Earle of Dizar refused to doe, as he did likewise deny the other, which she opened and offred to him. Upon his refusall she put up the letters againe,

^a The original is so dated (*Cal. Clur. St. Dep.*, ii. p. 306). See above, p. 27, note.

^b Wife of Colonel Sir Richard Page, knighted in 1645.

^c Edward Conwey, 2nd Viscount Conway, 1630.

they continuing in her company untill late that night. Mr. 1654.
Watson going the next morning to the Earl of Dizar's lodging and hearing him complayne of the losse of some letters, he replied that the Lady Page had profered him some letters to reade the night before, telling him withall that he thought she tooke them up in rallery and that, if he gave her good words, he might have them againe. Her Ladyship the same morning went to wayte upon the Earle of Newcastle, and meeting with Mr. Proctor and being desirous to know the contents of the Letters importuned him to reade them to her, which he did twice over, which when she had heard, she desired his Lordship might see them, whereupon Mr. Proctor carryed them up to his Lordship, who was not come out of his chamber. His Lordship having read them sent them downe by Mr. Proctor to her, withall desiring her to stay that he might speake with her. Afterwards his Lordship sent for her up and told her that the letters were of dangerous consequence, but delivered them back to her againe. Soe soone as she came downe she mett with one Twedy, the master of the house where the Ea. of Dizar lodgeth, who in much passion demanded of her the letters which she had stolne (those were the words) out of the Earle of Dizar's lodging. This diverse persons of good credditt can wittnesse. She resolving not to redeliver them, knowing the contents, denyed that she had any such; whereupon he upbrayded her with many uncivill words and sayd that she lyd, for Mr. Watson had told the Earle of Dizar that she offered them to him to reade. Afterwards she being desirous to be discharged of the letters as might best suite with his Majesties service wayted with them agayne on the Marq. of Newcastle, who enjoyned her to stay untill he could finde a convenient opportunity of sending them. She being desirous to returne to the Ilague, having receaved her husbands commands, had noe way to excuse her not returneing to him (which was only hindred upon this occasion) but by sending him coppies of the letters, that he might perceive how necessary her stay there was. Thereupon she sent for one Mr. Newman, a Factor in Antwerp,

1654. desiring him to copie Sir Rob. Murreys letter (the other being before copied by Mr. Proctor), which he did out of the originall letter which she tooke out of the Earle of Dizars chamber, in the presence of her and her daughter, to whom she committed the keeping of the letters. While he was copying it, she was called away to dinner leaving her daughter to receive the originall, which she did, he carrying the copy home, which copy she could not get out of his hands without much wayting and some threats, as will be justified. When she had gott it, she sent it to her husband at the Hague. Some dayes after her Ladyship being at dinner at Mr. Huets, the said Newman came to her daughter and in her mothers name demanded the letters of her, saying he must have them, which she obeyed ; and he sate downe and wrote a while and delivered back two letters to her againe, which the girle at that present did not much mind, being smoothing of Lynnen, but sayes that looking afterwards upon them she suspected they were not the same, for one was cleaner as she thought then any of those which she delivered to him, but durst not tell her mother anything of Mr. Newmans being there, fearing she would have ben angry if the letters were changed.

Her Ladyship affirms that she never sent Newman with any such order to her daughter, and is reddey to justify this whole Relation upon oath.

*Copy, endorsed by Nicholas : The Lady Pages
affirmacion concerning the letters she tooke
from y^e Ea. Dezars lodging concerning some
designe against the King.*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

* TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

5 Feb. N. S.

Add. 4180,
f. 113b.

Many here seem to be surprised that the order did not banish Mr. Long as well as S^r Richard Greenville from the K.'s court,

since the latter produced Mr. Long's letter to him as the ground of his information, and that Mr. Long sent his paper dated the 13th of January in justification of what he had formerly written to St Rich. Greenville. 1654.

I have been lately very credibly assured that Beverning, knowing his imperfection, that in his drink he discovers all he knows, did therefore forbear to drink any wine while he was in England. But as soon as he arrived here, he fell to it very heartily, and in his drink said to a confidant that he had been private with Cromwell 4 or 5 times alone, and that Cromwell used him with very great freedom and told him plainly (when he saw that himself and the rest of the Dutch Commissioners stuck so much upon the proposition concerning the exclusion of the Prince of Orange and his family) that he had not so much as thought of that proposition, if Beverning himself had not put him upon it, assuring him that it would pass without any stop with the province of Holland, and that the rest of the provinces would likewise be drawn to it. Whereupon Beverning replied it was true that he was confidant the province of Holland would comply with it, but he did not imagine that the rest of the provinces would have been so averse to it as he found by his last letters then received. And thereupon he said that he and some powerful with Cromwell fixed upon that expedient, that this State should be obliged to cause that whosoever shall be General of these Provinces shall first take an oath faithfully to observe all the articles of this Treaty. Beverning said farther that it is certain there is no Alliance or League agreed on between England and Spain, as hath been generally reported; for he saith Cromwell told him in great confidence that the House of Austria must be lookt unto, being grown very redoubtable by the many great advantages the Emperor hath gotten by the peace last made in Germany; and that Cromwell told him that Spain condescended to the peace with this State only to work his own ends by raising divisions among these provinces, and then to watch an opportunity to render himself master again of these countries. And Cromwell

1654. added farther (as he said) that, since the Spaniard understood there was like to be an accommodation and peace between England and this State, he made great offers of vast sums of money to Cromwell to break off the Treaty. But Cromwell assured Beverning that did not at all move him ; for he said he was resolved (if it might be) to make a firm league with this State and the like with France, tho' apart, that so both the Republics and France might join their strength to prevent the growing greatness of the House of Austria. Beverning also said that, when the Dutch Commissioners came to De Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador in England, to take their leave of him, and told him how far they had adjusted the articles of their Treaty, and how small difference there was between them, that Ambassador was much astonished, as he showed by his countenance and broken and disordered discourses with them ; which makes the Dutch Commissioners the more confident that Cromwell dealt clearly with them in assuring them that there was no Alliance or League contracted between England and Spain. This Relation concerning these Discourses between Cromwell and Beverning which come from Beverning's own mouth I had from M^r Somerdike.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

²/₁₂ Feb.

L^t Gen. Middleton goes to Tyling to the Princess Royal to take his leave of her, who again refuses to assist him with her credit for so much only as might supply him with 100 Barrels of powder.

There are gone with L^t Gen. Middleton the Lord Napier, S^r Geo. Monro, Major Gen. Dyalle [Dalziel], Capt. Peter Mews, Capt. Altham, two of D^r Whittaker's^a sons, 6 Germans, that were here of the Guard, besides divers other officers and soldiers, as well English and Dutch as Scots, to the number of 100.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

⁶/₁₅ Feb.

I must now contradict and retract what by L^t Gen. Middleton's very unkind and unfriendly misinformation I mistold you in my

^a Tobias Whitaker, M.D., physician to the King.

last; for the princess Royal, when she came hither the last week, told me herself (which the L^t Gen. Middleton totally concealed from me) that she hath given him 5000 Guilders in money to buy 100 barrels of powder, whereas he at the time that he received the order for it, and also when he took his leave of me here, complained that he had not prevailed therein with the princess Royal. And this I am sure was no secret with others, for both Mr. Howard and Oudart knew of it some days before he went, and spoke of it to others, that told me of it as soon as L^t Gen. Middleton was gone; and I still denied that it was so till first Mr. Howard and then the princess Royal told me of it. Her Highness asked me whether I were sure that L^t Gen. Middleton would disburse that money for powder? I told her I hoped he would; for that he seemed to me to be a person of honour and was intirely trusted by the K. But I may tell you I know nothing of all the money he hath received from the Scots here and in Denmark, Sweden, and elsewhere, which I assure you have not been inconsiderable sums; nor hath he ever acquainted me with any particulars of what he hath sent into Scotland, nor had I any order to desire to be informed in it. But, if I had been in his case, I should have been desirous to have had a witness of my proceedings in business of that nature and consequence.

You may remember that you promised me in the K.'s name that the fifty pounds which I disbursed to continue my Intelligence by his Majesty's command should be delivered to Tho. Neville in London by Michaelmas last. But he sends me word that he hath not yet received it, tho' I paid the same long since, as I acquainted you. Since I am now out of all hopes of getting any money upon my Warrant for a Baronet, I am, I assure you, put to my shifts; and therefore I pray fail not to procure that that sum at least may be paid me here or in London.

L^t Gen. Middleton went aboard his ship, riding in the Fly, Friday last from Amsterdam.

Your good friends the Bp. of Derry and S^r Rich. Greenville are fallen extremely out and very bitter against each other.

1654. TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

5 March, N. S.

L^t Gen. Middleton sail'd from the Fly on Wednesday sennight with a very fair wind. He received a letter from the Earl of Glencairne by an express from Scotland as he was weighing anchor, which advertised that there is a great combination forming against L^t Gen. Middleton and the K.'s service by means of the malice of the Lord Belcarres and the treacherous practises of the Marq. of Argyle's faction in Scotland, which it is to be feared is too much fomented and encouraged by some with you at Paris.

L^d Wentworth by his letter of the $\frac{15}{26}$ of Febr. tells me he intended to come from Hamburg within 3 or 4 days, and therefore wished me to write no more to him.

I saw the copy of a letter from this State to Cromwell, where in the Conclusion they prayed, *ut possit diu regnare*.

As soon as I receive his Majesty's Commands (which I hope will be speedy and favourable to me, who have not had one shilling from him these 3 years and more, and am now, I assure you, wasted even to nothing), I shall resolve whether to go to Cleve or elsewhere; but I conceive Cleve will be best.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

 $\frac{7}{12}$ March.

Lord Craven advises me rather to live at Colen or Francfort (than at Cleve), but I am not in a condition to make so chargeable a remove, tho' I have good inclinations for Francfort, because my grandfather and Bp. Jewel lived there in Queen Mary's time.

The gallant L^t Gen. Middleton, when he embarked, sent me a message which satisfies me fully for his not telling me what [he] had from the Princess Royal; and I assure you I did not take it unkindly that he did not acquaint me with that secret (for so I perceive it was delivered to him, tho' not kept by several others) but that he suffered me to advertise you that the most excellent princess Royal had not done anything for him.

Since there are such damnable designs to make the D. of Gloucester a Catholic, I humbly conceive the K. cannot do better than to bring him out of France with him.

To SIR EDW. HYDE.

28th March. 1654.

I did hope 61 years (which I shall complete the next month) would have exempted me from this severe disease [the gout], but having lately understood from my wife that my mother, being now near 81 years old, had in January last the gout, which she never had before, I am satisfied that no age is a *supersedeas* for this devil of a disease.

When I came last to Tyling, I found that the Princess Royal would not so much as speak to or look upon me, tho' I know not why she is on the sudden become so strange to me, unless it be (as some, I hear, have lately written from Paris) that the Queen hath sent her Highness order for it.

To LT. GENERAL MIDDLETON,

28th March.

It is here doubtful whether there will be any peace at all between this State and the Rebels in England . . . France is as basely submissive and fond of Alliance with the worst of Rebels as Holland itself. But if the one hath it not, the other, it is conceived, will not be able to compass it. The K. of England is still at Paris for want of money, which the French defer to pay him.

The Princess Royal told me, as soon as you were gone hence, that she had supplied you with 5000 Guilders. .

To SIR EDW. HYDE,

2 Apr. N.S.

I should be very sorry that the secret you tell me should be really true, that Cromwell hath contracted with the Prince of Condé to land men near Bourdeaux. But I hope that was promised by him only as to blind his design for the Sound. . . . If he can take the Sound (which some tell me is feasible), he goes the nearest way to ruin these provinces, for, that being once gained, he will be absolute sovrein of the seas and be master of all the Trade in these parts of Xtendom, and may then at leisure securely help both the Spaniard and Prince of Condé. . . .

I am credibly assured that some letters brought this last week

1654. from England from the Dutch Embassadors to some of their confidants here say that Cromwell hath privately sent for some French Protestant ministers to come to him to settle the Church Government in England as it is now exercised by the Hugonots in France; only that he will have also liberty given those that are of other professions, as Anabaptists, Brownists, Independents, etc., to exercise their Religion according to their several consciences. It is very probable that this may be done by Cromwell on design to ingratiate himself in the good opinion of the Hugonots of France. It is also written that Cromwell inclines that the Roman Catholics in England shall in their private houses have liberty to exercise their Religion till the meeting of the next Parliament.

TO THE E. OF ROCHESTER.

7 April.

Some letters from England say that Cromwell's Council sent to the Judges to consider and deliver their opinions whether the three Kingdoms, by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, could be governed by the power and authority that was incident to a Protector by the Laws of the Land. And Mr. Hales^a and the most of the rest of the Judges answered that the Three Kingdoms could not by the fundamental Laws or by the constitution of the government of the three Kingdoms be governed by a lesse power and authority than that due to the Title or person of a King or Emperor. It is easy to guess the meaning of putting that question, and what the solution of it signifies.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

⁶/₁₆ April.

. . . If Lord Percy be trusted with any of the K.'s business in England, it is impossible that he should ever do any good in it; for all the K.'s best friends there remember well the infamous letter written by him from Calais to the E. of Northumberland in the beginning of these times, which was afterwards by that noble Lord

^a Matthew Hale, made Justice of the Common Pleas 25 Jan. 1654.

communicated to the Rebels and printed^a Without all 1654.
question he will discover all things that shall be communicated to
him to his dear and virtuous sister Carlisle, who hath been through-
out the whole story of his late Majesty's sad misfortunes a very
pernicious Instrument.

TO THE E. OF ROCHESTER.

11. April.

It is most certain that Lambert is not satisfied with Cromwell's
proceedings, and that he is for having a perfect league with Spain
and a round war with these Countries. Monck is in outward
appearance Cromwell's greatest Favourite; and he presseth most
the extirpation of all the antient Nobility and Gentry in Scotland
and Ireland, and tells Cromwell, if he do so, the Commonalty in
those Kingdoms have so great affection and reverence for them as
they will on any discontent or invitation continually rise with them,
and rebel against the present Government.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

30 April.

I am very glad of what you write concerning the Lord of
Belcarres being wholly governed by his Majesty; for indeed I
hear he is an able man and hath always appeared very well
affected.

All good and discreet persons here, as well Dutch as English
and Scots, are extremely scandalised that the princess Royal (who
hath so good a cause to mourn even in sackcloth and ashes for the
miseries on her Family and the malicious practices against her son)
should be not only so insensible of them, but so easily misled, as at
this instant (when God's judgments are so visibly most heavy on
her Brother and Son) to be so solicitous and busy in the eye and
chief seat of this State (which is so maliciously united against her
family) in preparing and making her servants and dependents to
practise and act a play with such a title as if Cromwell himself

* The well-known letter giving his version of the so-called Army Plot, brought
before Parliament on 16th June, 1641, and printed as a pamphlet (*Cal. St. Pap.*,
1641-3, p. 15). It is given also by Rushworth, iv. p. 255.

1654. had made choice of and appointed it of purpose to have thrown scorn on the K., viz. *a King and no King*,^a which some good men say looks as if she mockt at God's Judgments.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

14 May.

Nic. Armorer, I believe, does his Majesty good service in England. Certainly the K. had a very great loss in the death of the Lord Beauchamp^b; and by that loss the West will be much unprovided. But some others may be thought on; and, if once things were ripe for it, I am confident the Marq. of Hertford, tho' he be old, would not be idle. And then Hen. Seymour hath a nephew, Mr. Courteney,^c who is a hopefull young Gentleman, and very popular in those parts, and would do very well with the help and advice of Mr. Arundel and some others in those parts. It is certain that the Rising in England must be in all parts and at once, when it shall be seasonable; but you ought to be very wary how you advise of any such business in Paris.

The play of *the K[ing] and no K[ing]* goes on; and your friend Dr Browne^d is very full of discourse of it (as I am told), when he waits on his mistress at her meals.

The last night there died here Mons^r Joachimi,^e the old Dutch Ambassador that was so many years employed in England from these States.

^a By Beaumont and Fletcher, first acted in 1611.

^b Eldest son of the Marquis of Hertford (vol. i. p. 178, where he is wrongly said to have died in 1656). For letters of the King on his death, of 30 and 31 May, see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 360.

^c One of the sons of Francis Courtenay, of Powderham, co. Devon, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edw. Seymour, Bart., of Pomeroy.

^d Tho. Browne, of Christchurch, Oxford, canon of Windsor 1639, chaplain to Charles I. at Oxford, etc.; now chaplain to Mary, Princess of Orange. He was restored to his preferments at the Restoration, and d. in 1673 (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*)

^e Albert Joachimi, who succeeded Noel Caron (d. 1624) as resident ambassador and remained till 1650.

GEN. JOHN MIDDLETON TO CHARLES II.

1654.

MOST SACRED SOVERAINE,

According to your Majestie's Command I have sent the bearer^a with instructions to informe your Majestie of the particular state of your affairs in this Kingdome. I had dispatched him befor this time, but that I was stoped be the manie disorders and deficiulties that I rêncontré at my first comming, out of which I had no small deficiultie to red my selfe, and indeed nothing could have supported me but that I have dedicat my life to your service. But the conditione of affaires is so much bettered that I offer it as my humble opinion to your Majestie to hasten to this kingdome, wher your Majestie will meet with no such desperat game as be manie it is represented. The King of France conditione had been hard, if his personall appearance in his armie (though a chyld) had not prevented it; and indeed nothing but your presence can carie on this worke. It is the desire of all your fathfull subjects, and ther is no man, even the most disaffected, who doe not professe a willingnesse to serve you, if present. This I thought incumbent for me to represent to your Majestie, as on who desireth not to live longer then I am able to expresse be my actions that I am,

Most sacred Soverain,

Your Ma. most fathfull most humble and most
obedient subject and servant,

JO. MIDDLETONE.

Week,^b May 23, 1654.

^a Major John Straehan, as appears from the endorsement of the next letter (p. 70).

^b Wick in Caithness. For a letter from Middleton to Hyde of the same date, see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 364.

1654. *

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE

4 June, N.S.

Add. 4180,
f.122.

Jongestall^a reproaching his Colleagues with their private transactions with Cromwell, Beverning the next day came to him and laid the blame upon the instigation of Lt Gen^t Opdam and De Witt the Pensioner.

I may not forbear to tell you that I even now received a letter from one that pretends to have very good intelligence from England, and it is dated the 2^d of June N.S., which says, "This day the Blow is to be given Cromwell, and in all human reason it cannot miss, unless in France it be discovered, which I much fear." Those are the words of his letter to me, and the same intelligence hath been told me here by two several persons, that came lately hither out of England; and it was also written to me the last week from Flanders. So as, if the design take effect, it must be a kind of miracle. And when I tell you this, I am not for all that satisfied but such intelligence may be discoursed of as soon in England as in France, tho' I believe you are confident of some there (tho' I cannot guess well who they are) that discover all they know or can learn. I assure you I have no friend that tells me or sends me any secret from France that I meet not with the same here from others by several persons, either by the same post or the next week after.

[*Written in a paper apart.*]

Having within this fortnight by three several (which is too many) ways been here advertised that there are designs^b on foot

^a Allart Pieter Jongestall, Dutch envoy in England with W. Nieupoort and Beverninck in 1653-4. Jacob van Wassenaer, Heer Van Obdam, like the Grand Pensionary John De Witt, was an opponent of the House of Orange.

^b "I do assure you upon my credit I do not know, and upon my confidence the King does not, of any such design": so Hyde in his answer, 12 June (*Clar. St*

to take off Cromwell and Council, whereof I know you are not ignorant, there having been (as I am credibly informed) several Expresses with the K. about that business, and understanding that his Majesty's party in Scotland is (God be praised) in a prosperous condition, I hold it my duty by you to put his Majesty in mind, and to offer to his consideration, timely so to prepare and authorise some of his loyal subjects in every County, that upon any sudden or good occasion they may have power to rise, arm and unite themselves for his Majesty's right and service, and to free themselves from the tyrannous oppression they now lie under; which (I conceive) may be with most secrecy and best effected, if his Majesty please to appoint in some principal Counties (tho' not in many) a Col-Genl. and in most Counties so many and such Colonels of Regiments, both for Horse and Foot for each county, as shall be necessary. 1654.

That S^r W^m Denny ^a of Norfolk newly come from England to S^r Miles Hubert ^b his Countryman came with S^r Miles to his lodgings; and S^r Miles told him, if the K. would send him a Commission to be Col. Gen. of Norfolk, he would go to England.

The old Countess of Arundel ^c died the 3^d of this Month N.S., at Amsterdam.

Pap., iii. p. 246). The rumours no doubt referred to Gerard and Vowel's abortive Plot for assassinating Cromwell on his way to Hampton Court, etc. (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1654. p. 233).

^a Son of Sir Will. Denny, Recorder of Norwich, who died 26 Mar. 1642 (B. M. Add. MS. 19,126, ff. 292, 299b); cr. Bart. 3 June, 1642. He was author of *Pelreaniciidum or the Christian Adviser against Self-murder*, 1653, and of *The Shepherds Holiday*, a pastoral, printed in 1870. The King agreed that he should have a commission as Governor of Yarmouth (*Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 248).

^b Sir Miles Hobart, of Plumstead, co. Norf., K.B. in 1625 (Add. MS. 32,102. f. 197b).

^c Alethea, widow of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (d. 1646).

1654.

GEN. JOHN MIDDLETON.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Pg. 2534,
f.168.

I did not meet with so cleer a bussines as I expected, which heas occasioned my long silence, not being willing to afflict you withe bad newes nor flater you with untruths ; but things being in some better frame, I have dispatched this expresse to his majestie to let him know the present posture of his affaires and to tell him how much he is longed for be most of this kingdome and that without his appearance amongst us it will be impossible to doe anie thing considerable. Things are so much bettered since my comming that I am confident, if his majestie will be graciously pleased to come amongst us, he will meet with noe desperate bussines. I know none who wold not put all to the hazard, if the King vare present. I beleeve some thing of actione betwixt us and the rebells will fall out shortly. If the Lord will be pleased to blesse us with successe,^a it will, I am confident, occassione great revolutions. The peace being nowe concludel betwixt the rebells and the Dutch, I conceive his majestie is to expect litle that way, so that in my humble opinion ther is nothing left but this bussines in Scotland. I shall not truble you with particulars, but remit you to my instructions, which are full. I dooreshure you of vellecome in Scotland, wher, if it please God to bring you with your master, you will sie manie good subjects and honest men; neither will ye meet with so great hardships as is reported. Good claret wine heas been our ordinarye drink since my comming to this Kingdome. God blisse you and send us a hapie meeting ; for next to my master I long to sie you. In expectation of that contentment I subscribe myselfe,

Right Honorable,

Your most fathfull and

most humble servant,

Jo. MIDDLETONE.

Week, May 30, 1654.

^a He was surprised and defeated by Col. Thomas Morgan near Lochgarry on 19 July following (Whitelock, p. 597).

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

1654.

TO LT. GENERAL MIDDLETON,

22 June, N.S.

The K. has now (as my last from France say) received all his money to a small matter. . . . In case his sister come not to y^e Spa, I believe he may go to Colen and remain there and thereabouts till he hears from you (which he passionately desires) and then I intend (God willing) to be with his Majesty.

Add. 4184.
f.124.

The E. of Rochester hath had (as he writes to me in generals) a good dispatch, the Emperor having for his part given towards the K.'s supply and assistance 100,000 Rix Dollars, whereof I hear by others (but himself writes nothing of it) some small part is paid; and thereupon the E. of Rochester is now sending by the way of Hamburg some Arms and Munition towards you, which I hope will be ready to go thence the next week, and his Ldp. will send more after that proportion as fast as the money shall be paid, and means gotten for transportation of the same.

The Lord Belcarres, I hear, hath discovered so great inclination for the Marq. of Argyle's faction in Scotland, and so unreasonable a disaffection to Earl Glencairne and (thro' him) to others on whom the K. principally depends for all his affairs in Scotland, as his Majesty shews him less countenance than he did at his first coming. And you may be confident that it will not be in his, nor in all the power he can make at Paris, to prevail with the K. to alter one tittle of the orders and course he hath established in his affairs in Scotland under your command, on whose sole conduct and counsel therein his Majesty intirely relies, and from which nothing can make him swerve in the least point. And indeed it is a singular comfort to all his Majesty's faithful servants to find him so exceeding constant as he hath been above these two years to good men and their counsels and to his own true interests.

1654. TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

½ June.

The Count W^m wants no courage nor will, I believe, to oppose the present power that rules ; but I hear he hath not so good conduct as such an undertaking and work would require.

I am very sorry that the D. of Buckingham continues still so extravagant in his carriage towards the K. These great Wits are none of the best Servants or Friends. They may be good Company for a time ; but they are uneasy to live with.

The K.'s most faithfull servants here wish that his Majesty would bring the D. of Gloucester with him out of France and send him to his sister.

What say you to it, that my old friend Jo. Ashburnham^a is now imprisoned by Cromwell ? I have heard that [he] hath still constantly held correspondence with your prince Jermyn. Methinks this sufferance should be held a sufficient expiation for all his former faults.

Sr Rich. Page^b came this afternoon to me, and acquainted me that there is a very honest man newly come from England who assures him that there is weekly intelligence sent by one Col. Rocksby (who is now a prisoner in the Bastille) to Cromwell, and that Rocksby hath his intelligence from Mr. Massonet's wife,^c who frequently resorts and sends to him.

^a He was committed to the Tower on a charge of High Treason on 2 June (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 273).

^b In Birch's MS. apparently written "Boge," but no doubt Page is meant.

^c For evidence of Massonet's treason see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 14, and Thurloe, iii. p. 493.

SIR WILLIAM BELLENDEN.^a

1654.

RIGHT HON^{ble}

Stockholme, 24 Junii, 1654,ould still.

Yours of $\frac{1}{11}$ Junij with the inclosid intelligence from England and Scotland I recavid this morning and do rander yow most humble thankis for the frequent good intelligence I have had from yow, which treule I did make the best and timliest use of that I could to sarve our maister. Though my indevors did not produce the effect that I amid at to serve him, yit I thanke God that I obtenid soom thing that may be of use to him and to thois in action for him, though far short of what I did solicit and of what once was promisid me. The busines is of that nateur that I most humble besich yow to be satisfied with this generall till I may with moir saifte to the busines make it moir clirle knoin to you. I shall by my nixt let yow kno if a congratolatore letter from our Maister will be acceptable to this King^b or not; for the present condition of affairs will not soffer him to alter any thing that hes ben satlid by the Queen, though I can assure [you] he wantis no intentionall kindnes for him and his interests. Bot the trette satlid with Whitloke^c will for soom tim admit of no chaing.

For Monsieur Willelts^d busines, I fear that all the industrie that can be usid will not find out any thing moir binding upon him then what

^a Sent on a mission to Sweden in May, 1653. See his instructions in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 202; with earlier letters to Nicholas, pp. 349, etc. Queen Christina compliments him in a letter to Charles: "Il a agi en tout en homme d'honneur et a témoigné autant de fidelité et de zèle pour votre service que vous pourriez desirer" (Whitelock, *Swedish Embassy*, ed. 1855, i. p. 280). Later, however, when in his capacity of a member of her Household he was rude to Whitelock, she stigmatised him as "a sot and a fool" (*Ibid.* p. 430).

^b Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who succeeded his cousin Christina on her abdication on 16 June, 1654.

^c Bulstrode Whitelock, whose treaty, on the part of the English Government, with Queen Christina was signed on 28 Apr. 1654.

^d Cornifex Ulefeld, late Great Chamberlain of Denmark and favourite of Christian IV. (d. 1648), but now in exile in Sweden. He had recently been publicly accused by the Danish ambassador of embezzlement (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. pp. 349, etc.)

1654. he hes alreddy performid; for he is alreddy acquitid be the Queen and this Councell, and for his further vindication is resolvid to print the King of Denmarks letters [to] him, our Kings letter authorising his transaction with Mar^s Montrois, and Montrosis cevrall letters and acquitance to him. I have indevorid to disswad him from it, not siming to wnderstand any reflection it can make at all to the prejudice of our Maister, bot by making the business so publike with a prejudiciall intencion to his awin Government that indifferent persons will judge of it to his prejudice, and that he by doing so will rander himsele totale unreconcilable. This did not wpon our conference seem to leave any impression with him; yit since he hes done no thing in it, and not long ago did promis me the coppie of all the letters and of Mar^s Montrois his acquitance,^a which I was in hopis to have sent yow with this post. Bot he is not as yit retornid, being goin along with the Queen to accompany hir towards the frontiers of Denmarke. If the Princes Royall do continew hir resolution for the Spaw, I besich yow to perswad hir to use the Queen of Swethin with much civilate; and, if the King com ther, I make no question bot he will do the like. And lett this suffis for a reson, that, though she be out of the power of the Regence, yit hir will in all things is most stricte performid be hir successor.

Give me live to conclud this with giving yow an accompt of my towin present condicion. It plesid the Queen my mistris befor hir abdication to give me an assignation for 13000 Rex dolers, which wpon accompt was fownd to be dew to me for my pay as furst Leut^t of hir Gaird and as Gentilman of the Chamber, bot this is not present monny; yit I hope with time to geat satisfaction of the major pairt of it. The whilst my condicion bein such that I can not subsist without imployment, I am now indevorin to satile my selfe in this Kings service, which I am in hopis of, though much short of the condicion and

^a For these papers see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 15, under June and July, 1649.

plente that I was in formerle, which I shall accept of with the
 moir chirfulnes that I may be still in a capacete to sarve our
 Maister in his interests, which shall never want the concurrence
 of my dute, industrie and fidelate 1654.

Your most humble servant,

W. BELLENDEN.

SIR W. BELLENDEN.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

Stockholme, 8 July, 1654.

. . . Nixt week I shall send yow the trew coppis of all the letters, f. 174.
 acquitancis and papers of transaction concerning Willfelds busines.
 He retornid but yistirday, haveing convayed the Queen to the
 frontiers of Denmarke. Befoir this can com to your handis I am
 confident that she will be at the Spaw, and understanding be yours
 that the Princes Royall is to be ther likways, I do again besich yow
 to perswad hir Highnes to a civill and frindle correspondence with
 hir. The busines of Brem^a comis uncesonable for us; yit we ar
 very confident to punich ther insolence, and to that end ar making
 great preparations. The King is sending immediatle Count Slipin-
 bake^b Ambassador to the Electors and other princis of Germany.
 This Slipinbake is within this 8 monthis resid to a great height and
 that by the fall of Count Magnus.^c He is out of Courland, a
 privat gentilman, and till Grave Magnus faill was in a most
 necessitus condicion; bot the Queen befoir hir abdication did
 give him landis and assignation for monnis nier to 150,000 dolers
 and mead him Earle. He was the person employed betwixt hir
 and the King for evry thing of transaction betwixt them. The

^a Bremen having been worsted, a treaty of peace was concluded on 28 Nov. following (Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, 1728, vi. pt. 2, p. 94).

^b Christopher Carl Schlippenbach.

^c Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, Count of Arensberg, Governor of Livonia, etc., late a favourite of the Queen. There is a curious account of his disgrace in White-lock, *Embassy*, i. p. 391.

1654. King heath likways mead him Colonell of his Gairds, furst Gentleman of his Chamber, and has givin him in landis to the valew of 100,000 Rex dolers. Of leat ther hes ben much discours of the Kings marriage, the trettie for which being a part of Slipinbakes negotiations I have had cevrrall conferencis with him concerning Princes Sophia,^a bot at last have discoverid that the King is ingadgid to the Duches of Holsten,^b who is of the Religion professid in this Kingdome. I have indevorid all I could to have got a coppie of the Trettie concludid with Whitloke, bot cau not as yit have it. Cantirsten, who was imployed from this Croun to assist at the Trettie which our Maister did conclud with my contremen at Bredha, was the Secretary imployed in the busines and is much chaingid from his former affection to the Kings interests; bot I do not consithir that at all to be straing, finding most hier to be so little generus that they ar altogither led by succes. Whain yow are pleasid hierafter to do me the honor to wriit to me, let not your letters be directid to me as gentilman of the chamber to the Queen, for nather is sche moir in the Regence nor I in hir Maties service. By the till of ather Knight or Colonell your comandis will find out, Right Hon^{ble},
- Your most humble and faithfull servant,

W. BELLENDEN.

SIR W. BELLENDEN.

RIGHT HON^{ble},

Stockholme, 15 July, 1654.

1176. Since Willfields retorin he hes ben so much in busines that I could never com to speake with him bot once at Court. He heath, and is to advance to the Queen, a great soom of monny, for which

^a Daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; she married Ernest, Prince of Brunswick, in 1658.

^b Hedwig Eleonora, daughter of Frederic, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, whom he married almost immediately after.

he is to have landis in Pomer ingadgid to him and thois redimable upon the payment to him of 150,000 rex dolers, though I belive he hes not advancid nier that soom. I long to hier his Ma^{ts} answear concerning the transaction betwixt St John Macklier^a and me; for I belive that his Ma^{ts} faithfull subiects now in action heath much use of such a supple, which upon his Ma^{ts} order shall be transportid any whair on this sid the sea according to command. With the last post I recavid a letter from Leut. Generall Middeltone mentioning his condicion and his resolution to march to the south, being growin so numerus that they war not longer abell to subsist in the mountens. I pray God to blis them with succes, for I am confident that they will not be long out of action. He writs to me that the Kings presence is earnestle desird be all in action for his sarvice, and treule I louke upon it with that dute to him that I do humble consave his honor and interest diple concernid to adventeur his person with them, unles that soom resolution of greater importance not yit published do hinder. For his writing to this King, a litill delay in not doing of it shall be of no prejudice to him. A pairt of your last newis from Rotirdam is contradictid, for ould Leslie^b is passid thorow the Sownd and is expectid hier dayle. As I writ to yow by my former, this King is to be maried immediatle to the Duke of Holstens second daughter, and to that porpois Count Erike Oxinsterin^c and Meur de Lind, another of the Cowncell, ar to go Ambassadors and to bring hir hither, and all to be finichid within this 2 monthis. He is resolvid to persue the busines against Brem vigorusle, yit soom of the most clier sightid ar confident that it will com to a spidle satling. In the

^a Sir John Maclear, a Scotch merchant living at Gothenburg (Whitelock, *Embassy*, i. p. 159).

^b Alex. Leslie, Earl of Leven; he had been taken prisoner by Col. Alured, near Dundee, on 28 Aug. 1651. and sent to the Tower, but had recently been released at the intercession of Queen Christina and was now on his way to thank her in person.

^c Eric, second son of the Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern and President of the Council of Trade.

1634. short tim of this Kings being in the regence he hes much gained upon the affections of all; he is very iudicius and in busines infatigable. . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

W. BELLENDEN.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO LT. GENERAL MIDDLETON,

$\frac{11}{21}$ July.

Add. 4180,
f. 126.

The K. left Paris friday was sennight, and is now at Spa with his sister, whither I am preparing to go to his Majesty, and shall begin my journey to-morrow or next day at furthest. There are come with the K. none of his Council but Marq. of Ormonde and Sr Ed. Hyde, nor no other lord but the Lord Newburgh^a and the Lord Balcarres; but the latter of them (I hear) is neither well contented nor much countenanced, and comes at his own expence.

The E. of Norwich and Lord Wentworth met the K. on the way at Mons, and are gone with him to Spa. The Lord Gerard came not with the K., but spends this summer with the D. of York in the French Army. The virtuous Ld. Percy is lame of the gout in Paris, and our friend Ld. Jermyn abides there also. I am now told that Col. Bampffield did not go with pr. Rupert, as it was reported.

I have not yet seen my Ld. Newburg, but hope to meet him at Breda, where he is now with Sr. Ed. Hyde, and whither I am going to them.

CAPT.^b JOHN STRACHAN TO CHARLES II.

MY GRACIOUS KING,

I can at this present bot pray for your Magisties prosperetic and

Eg. 2534.
f. 182.

^a Sir James Livingston, of Kinnaird, cr. Visc. Newburgh in 1647, and Earl of Newburgh in 1660. He passed over to Charles at the Hague in 1630.

^b So in the endorsement, but he is apparently the same who is called Major above, p. 67, note ^a.

and hartely thank yowe for yowr kind caire and good oppinion you have of me. I did obey accerding to Maister Chanslers orders from yowr Magistie. Deo as yow think fit, *sum utrinque paratus*, etc., and hier is my hand. I shall never begyl yowe, so yowr Ma^{stie} be plaesed to axcept me. Lay ye weet, Lay ye dray, I shal be with yowe. Woe worth the gilt that hes been so skers with me, other-ways I had sien your Ma^{stie} half a yeece ago. My Lord Newburgh hes giwen me monies and used me verie kyndlie. I hawe sent my waek oppinion concerning yowr Magisties jorney and woag ; doo in it what yow think fit. When it shall be yowr plaesur to caus call me to my dewtic, I am more able to say more nor I can wret, and with Gods help shal be redie in all serwices that lyeth in my power. I daylie pray to God, and howps that he will giwe your Magistie a happie and prosperus woag, and that he will be yowr conductor. In all the former woagis my harte was newer hartier as to this woag, blissed be God. And Lord grant this woag a blissing for Jesus Chrysts caus ; and let Cromwell geo hang himself. He can not dryve stackes in the Zee. I beg your Ma^{ties} pardon for this boldness. So praying that Gods blissing and myn may ewer remainn with yowr Ma^{tie} and the Royall familie,

I rest, Sir, yowr Magisties humble
obedient serwant and subiect
in good faith *ad wltam*,

JOHN STRACHAN.

Hagh, the 4th of August, 1654.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO THE EARL OF NORWICH.

Aix, 1 Sept. N. S.

Princess Royal as passionately desires to see the Queen of Sweden as her Majesty can be to see her Royal Highness.

ADD. 4189.
f. 126b.

Your Ldp. may with much confidence affirm that the K. our

1654. master desires nothing more for the present, or with so much passion, as his journey for Scotland, having resolved to defer it no longer than till the season and some other things requisite shall be fitting for it ; and the reason that makes him make little shew of his resolution therein is to muse the world, and that he may be there before he can be imagined to intend it.

Your Ldp. shall do well to take occasion a little before you take your leave of the Qu. of Sweden to let her Majesty understand how very kind the Emperor and the Dyet have been in condescending and voting his Majesty a handsome assistance in money, which is payable by several parts of the Empire. The noble Lord Wentworth, your Ldps. faithful friend, was Saturday last sworn of his Majesty's privy Council.

SIR PATRICK DRUMMOND.*

R^t HONNORABLE,

I have receaved your honors letter of the 30th Aug. from Aquen, together with H. M. letter to L. G. Middleton concerning Colonel Spindler, which I doe keep by me till hee retorne from Scotland, for wee haweing often talked off the present condition off H. M. affaires in Scotland, and considering that it could not be saiff landing off men, armes, or amunition in any place except there wer some of H. M. forces nigh to the place for protecting them and transporting off thearms and amunition presently to some saiff place; that all this behouued to be condiscended wpon befor any man could venter thither, and that for doeing off this there behouued some person off onsterdangding to be sent to the lieutenant generall, and retorne againe with an Answer—all this considered, the gentleman told me hee would goe himself in persone and resolve with the

* "Conservator" of the Scots in the Low Countries; formerly governor to the children of the Duke of Bonillon and Gentleman Usher to Charles I. (Drummond, *Noble British Families*, p. 29). He was knighted in Apr. 1642 (B. M., Add. MS. 32,102, f. 211b).

L. G. both wpon the landing place, the time and manner, becaus hee should by that meanes bee much better satisfied in evrye thing then possiblye hee could be by the relatione or informatione off any other whatsoewer. I was very glade to see the gentleman witnes soe much hartly good will to the advancing H.M. service, and did encourage him all I could to prosecut his noble desigene, for doeing wheroff I should contribut all that was in me. Soe I caused our preacher Mr Robert Browne, whome your honor hath knowen and beene helpfull to att the Hague, whoe was also going home to be preacher to L. G. Middleton, speake to the master off the ship hee himself was to goe in, that hee might giwe passage to a marchand off West Flanders whoe was going to Scotland to looke after some money owen to him there, and for doeing some other bussiness concerning marchandice. Passage being granted, I caused the Colonell lay aside ewrye thing which made him looke lyke a gentleman or souldiour and cloath him self altogether lyke a marchand, yea, and without a sword. Soe six dayes agoe they parted from this place towards Scotland with the fairest wind and weather could be desired. They are to land at Kirkaldy, Dysert or Ween within 3 miles each off others, wher I hope they shall meett with som parties off H.M. forces; but I can not tell where they may find the L. G., becaus some doe saye hee was gone to receave thes armes and amunition comed from Brest, others that hee was gone after Morgan towards the North; but Mr. Broun knows the countrye and wayes well and will noe doubt followe that which is shortest and saiffest. I doe expect to heare from them by the first occatione; and assuredlye the Colonell will make all the heast back againe that possibly hee can, to the end hee may goe to Scotland againe befor the winter do begin. Hee will advyse with the L. G. whatt things are fittest and most necesser to be caried home, and will take as much as will answer his undertakings. I do beleive the gentleman to be a very sober and honnest understanding man, noe drinker nor ranter; and the more I doe convers with him I doe lyke him the better, and doe wish hee may as

1654. much relish our bussines att home as I doe him for any thing I can find or learne. And I should think I did H. M. good service, iff I could find out many such to venter in H. M. service. Wee should be sure att least not to loose any thing, if wee wer not gainers; and such adventurers are to be cherished and encouraged, since they offer to advance and doe not demand any thing. According as I shall heare from them, I shall acquaint your honour with all.

From England wee heare off noe thing but pressing both off seamen and land sojers. I hopp fewe off them shall goe to Scotland, and thes that doe shall faire noe better then their predecessors, whoe are dyeing fast off a flux. I doe not doubt but that this representative^a shall make Noll Empereur; for the saints would startle as much att the name of King as our braineseeke first reformers did att the name off Bischop, and therfor called them Superintendents. This is the maine designe off the meeting, and to bring that handsomly about hee may flatter fooles with hoppes of settling presbyterin discipline. But, if hee be once settled, hee will take some time to be advysed concerning the other, and then serve them as they deserve. The discontents off these provinces are noe thing abaited, and in end Holland will crush all the rest. There declaration against the prince and his friends doeth not much mouve the people hier, whoe by degrees will be brought to forgett that ewer they had any obligatione to the House off Orenge. They aime only at tredd [trade]; and I believe this great victory will see frighten the French that they will neglect Cromwell and hee will stopp all tredding by sea that way . . .

Your Honors most humble servant,

PAT. DRUMOND.

Camph[eer], 8th Septemb. 1654.

^a Cromwell's first Protectorate Parliament, which met on 3 Sept.

JOSEPH JANE.

1654.

RIGHT HO^{ble}.Hage, 22 7^{br}, 1654.

. . . . Yesterday mornynge, beinge Monday, there came a report to the towne that they were in much disorder in England and that their Parl. and Cromwell were not of a peece, Bradshaw having moved to know whether they were a free parliament. This came by Sir John Sares^a to the Q., and it came by a shipp newly come in to Rotterdam. I mett afterwards with one of the passengers, from whome I had this relacion, which with the circumstances seems probable. On yesterday was sevenight, the first day of their busines, they sate long silent in expectacion of Cromwell, whose commynge being long delayed, there was a muttering round the house wherefore they were come, whether they must wayte upon one man, and though the humour was apparant yet nothing was publikely said. At last Cromwell came, for whome a chaire was prepared, and he sate downe and afterward went behinde his chaire and then spake, recounting what he had done, how he had brought downe the Dutch and made them come to condicions to the great advantage of the nation, that he had setled a peace with Portugall, and was in treaty with France, whereby they might come to an universall quiett with all about them; then he falls to the matter of religion, which ought to be the first thing treated on in that assembly, both as most necessary in regard of their duty to God and to suppress the dangerous sects that were on foote, and thence prosecuted the levellers to a great length, at last told them that it was farr from him, whatever jealousyes might be raysed, to take a power over them, that what he had done was by necessity and enforced upon him without his desire and against his inclination. His speech being ended, which had held about two hours, he departed; and then the new house fell to their business, and in the first place declared the method appointed to beginn with religion.

^a Sir John Sayer, or Sayers, of Bourchier Hall in Aldham, co. Essex, knighted at Breda in 1649 (B.M., Add. MS. 32,102, f. 81b). He was attached to the King's Household (*Cul. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 387).

1654. But the matter of State was the first thing propounded, in order to know upon what ground they came there, and upon that occasion the constitution of y^e state made by Cromwell and the power in one man came into debate, which was matter of long and hott contest. To what termes the question was at last reduced I cannot see certainly learne, but by the discourse conceive it was whether they should proceed to the determinacion of the right of that power which was assumed. And it was putt to the question and there were 120 for the affirmative that it should be resolved and 150 in the negative that it should not be determyned. This was the first worke. Upon the next day, being Tuesday, they fell upon the busines of the members that were questioned by Cromwell and his Councell and resolved to be set aside, and this question after long debate was concluded that all members chosen might vote in the house and none to be excluded without order of the house; and thus ended Tuesday. What is since I heare not of, but this I beleeve is neerer truth then you will have it. This, after I received it, I related to M. S.,^a whome I found after he had received yours and desired me to reade it, least he might not thoroughly understand it, though the scope he beleevd he did. He apprehended what I told him very much to the advantage of our affaires, but he was in very great passion reflecting upon the busines whereof your letter promised him your assistance. I finde he hath noe confidence at all in the successe with you and that [*the*] K[ing] will not doe anything in it. I was trubled to see the violence it putt him into. How to helpe it I know not; it must come elsewhere, but I see, if there be not something done, he wilbe very hardly at peace. He had newly received good newes of Scotland arrived to Rotterdam, which your letter mencioned in expectacion of letters to confirme, you having there had a report of it, but I know nothing certen,

^a "613," which is not in the key in Egert. MS. 2550. The "M. S." interlined appears to be for Mons. Sommel-dijk, i.e. Cornelis van Aerssen, Heer van Sommel-dijk, letters from whom will be found below.

though it be sufficiently spread, for he did it with great vigour to all he talked with. Its beleevd, though *Holland* have gone soe farr, yet the stopp to the proceedings wilbe putt there at last, there being a great division and many of their members refusing to concurr. I am told that some of the provinces here come not on soe well as their beginnings promised. *M.S.* inquired of our fr[ie]nd] *Sir M. Langdale*. I told him what I heard and a little further of the nature of the man and his master. I found him very free to me, and in that point I did not spare; whence the enquire came I could not conjecture. I was with *Rinswold*^a after my last to you, who continues very great kindnes.

There was lately a great question touching the proceedings against the *Brasilians*^b and particularly such as were of the high justice there, whome the *Stats Generall* thinke fitt should be tryed by their commission, having transgressed against the commission received from them. They of *Holland* offred a presentacion, that being of their Province they ought to be tryed by the ordinary justice there. This is conceived to reflect upon the safety of the *Amb.* in *England*, who may upon the same ground be tryed by commission from the *States Generall*. But I was told that, notwithstanding what was offred, the *Six Provinces* were positive that they ought to be tryed by commission from the *Stats Generall*. After all this I am to present you with another intelligence. The *Lady P. Mohun*^c is come into *Holland*, flying the fury

^a Johan van Reede, Heer van Renswoude, President of the State of Utrecht. He had been ambassador in England in 1644 to mediate between King and Parliament, when Charles made him an English peer under the title of Baron Reede.

^b After a war which began with an insurrection in 1645 the Dutch settlements in the northern part of Brazil were in this year surrendered to Portugal. In an earlier letter, 7 Sept., Jane writes: "There is appointed a court of warr here . . . for tryall of the military officers that rendred *Brasill* (Col. Killigrew is one), and another commission to others of civill employment to determyne of the governour," etc. The Killigrew named was William Killigrew of Ardennick, co. Cornw., cr. Bart. in 1660, who had succeeded Goring in 1647 as colonel of a Dutch regiment.

^c Philippa, daughter of John, 1st Lord Mohun, born in 1623 (Lyte, *Dunster and its Lords*, 1882, p. 37).

1654. of Cromwell. For she was bound over about the scape of the Por[tuguese] Amb[assador's] brother,^a and they finde that shee had soe exasperated Cromwell by the scornes shee had putt on his daughter and others of his that he intended to proceed to extremity and that, if they tooke not her life, they would yet putt her to some ignominy worse then death ; and hereon by advise shee hath forfeited her baile and is come away. I shall, God willing, see her tomorrow and then may be able to give you somewhat out of England. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 24 7^{bre}, 1624 (*sic*).

Eg. 2534,
f. 216.

. . . . That I wrote touching the Parliament I find not crossed by anything sithence, but that speech of Cromwell which I understood to be in the house was, as the books saie, made in the paynted chamber. The books tell us that Atholl hath made his peace and Glencarne seeks it; but by all that wee heare from thence wee have noe mencion of any such inclination, and they that come from England saie, as you observe, that their books are very false of late.^b I finde here they are willing to beleieve that the French wilbe as free in their complacence to Cromwell's demands as they were here, and noe doubt these here much desire it should be soe for their owne reputacion. Upon my delivery of the letter to Mr. Vickford he told me he would come to me touching something in it, but I never heard from him. They in England, especially of the Kings party, beleieve that the fleete is for Brasill and that the Dutch joyne in it; but they here imagine

^a Dom Pantaleon de Saa, executed for murder on 10 July, 1654, the same day on which his brother signed the Portuguese Treaty.

^b In this case they were true enough. See Athol's articles with Monck, 24 Aug. and Glencarne's, 29 Aug. in *Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 333, 339.

not att all that it can be intended for this place. I cannot yet 1654.
 discerne that Cromwell is likely to take any higher title. I
 receivd since my last a letter from my brother W. Kekewich,
 who tells me my wife will spedily advertise me of her journey.
 He writes his elder brother hath marryed a third wife in your
 country neere Wallopp, the widow of one Mr. Duce, as I reade
 his letter. I finde by some that come from England that they
 give the Scotts busines for very desperate and have fearfull apprehensions if the King goe there, as if there could not be a footinge
 for a reasonable adventure. I beleeve you will be advertised by
 this post what newes came from Scotland, which I doubt hath as
 little certenty as the former. If the King goe there, I presume it
 wilbe after some discovery and not upon the state nowe represented.
 The English demands are certainly soe shrunk as I writ in my former;
 for since that Myn Here Renswoode told it me, but he said it was
 85,000 and Poleroone.^a Some say here that Zeland is not soe stout
 as formerly. I shall performe your commands to the severall
 persons. For the person whome I formerly conceived of noe great
 use, my reason was not the same with yours, for I finde him
 hankering upon a sure game and doubtfull of adventures into
 danger and disputing of successe, which were well done in other
 cases. But our busines admitts not such scruples, where much must
 be left to hazard. . . . I heare not much of the sicknes this weeke
 out of the places where it was, but there it still continues. Though
 I cannot without knowledge of circumstances offer any opinion
 touching the Kings going for Scotland, yet certainly there ought to
 be some assurance of a party and probable safety for a while before
 he adventure there. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a These were the terms of the award made by the Commissioners on 30 Aug. O.S. viz. that the Dutch East India Company should pay £85,000 to the English Company and cede the isle of Polaron, i.e. Poeloe Rhun, one of the Banda group (Dumont, vi. pt. 2, p. 91).

1654. My Lord of Bath^a is lately dead, and thereby a faire fortune is come to our countryman Sir Chi. Wrey.^b Mr. Jo. Trelawny^c came over with his cosen P. Mohun; but the necessity of speedy returne would not permitt him to visit the Court, being loath to be too much known to have byn soe farr. And therefor, if there be any mencion made of him and any enquiry why he had not byn with you, he wisht I should signifie the reason. There are letters of this weeke that speake to the purpose of what I wrote touching the opening of the rebell assembly which they call parliament. . . .

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

1.

Paris, 25 Sept., 1654.

f. 219. I will not only give you the joy, but our selves too, that you are againe in your harness.^d For truly, when wee consider wee have 3 or 4 such persons in union about his Mat^y removed from the obstacles of this place, wee that have noe interrests seperated from his Mat^{res} promise to our selves more happy success then ever wee could expect whilst his Mat^{ies} princely virtues had such clouds heere to shine through and good men had such beasts at this Ephesus to fight with. Wee now expect with due tyme the purging the Court and restoring the Honor of the Councell board, which will be of more service to his Mat^y then all the Maligners thereof can be ever capable to doe him. I am as glad as confident of the intire union betwixt the Honest Chancelor and your selfe. And I that knowe both your Principles am very sure you can have none

^a Henry Bourchier, 5th Earl in 1637; died 15 Aug. 1654, without issue.

^b Sir Chichester Wrey, 3rd Bart. He married Anne, third daughter and co-heir of Edward, 4th Earl of Bath, and widow of James Cranfield, 2nd Earl of Middlesex.

^c Jonathan, eldest son of Sir John Trelawney, 1st Bart., and Elizabeth, sister of the 1st Lord Mohun.

^d As Principal Secretary of State, to which office he was formally re-appointed about this time at Aix (vol. i. p. xvii).

but kind quarells and, if ever I have other with ether of you, I shall be much deceived. If our reports heere be true, our Princess Royall hath much won the harts of her brothers best servants and subjects, and shee may be sure those will ever be her best frends. Wee heare shee hath taken into her favor one of your worthy sonnes and some of Mr. Chancelors children; and the intelligence coming unto us heere from those that are offended at it doth most assure and please us in itt. I pray, Sir, let us know particulars of such good newes. I doe protest unto you upon my soule, when I see any of our blessed masters chi[l]dren doe things worthy the royall offspring of such a stock, it glads my soull; as our gallant master and the sweet Duke of Yorke doe often by their actions, and it is exceeding plesing to heare that brave Princess takes into her thoughts those that have served her Father and brother with such signall fidelity integrity and abilities. In earnest, Sir, I could continue my letter on this single subject, soe well I am pleased with it. I pray where is our excellent frend? I never heard from him, since I sent one to him in your packet. I heare Mr. Chancellor hath writ a chiding letter to this towne for my silence since he went. I protest I am more displeased when I cannot write to you both then you can be to spare my letters, but the uncertainty where to find ether of you made me forbear untill a sicknes very sharp ceased me, and at the end thereof I had a gipsie visit of a mother and her children, bag and baggage, that came to vissit me and are heere with me, and my eldest daughter very ill ever since her journey. I pray, Sir, assure him, I will be more carefull not to anger him that way heereafter, though I beleeve you thinke with me it would be hard to undertake to please him, especially att dinner, as his frend Cromwell knowes, wherein I will explain my selfe next wecke, when I shall send word of more particulars in Mr. *Seamors* busines then perhaps he knowes, as I receave them by my sonne, who stands in more aw of Mr. *Chancellor* then me and had brought him a present of bookes, but I ceased them. Sir, he is your very humble servant, and I have receaved him safe by

1654. miracle, soe much he is transported to be signall in *his Majestys service*.

Sir, I will not faile to advertise you of all occurrences heere and to lay out to get the best I can. Your goodnes will pardon the confusion that may accompany them, since they may come tumbling rather then marching, for I will labor to ground in what I know or heare from rationall persons. And I feare nothing therein soe much as I may come some tyme a weeke after your reports, for indeed the uncertaintyes heere doe often render truths stale newes. I recomended that person you mention unto your acquaintance as one might tell you much newes in court, but ever shall recomend such with submission to your judgement, which will not be imposed upon and will winnow what they present. I pray, Sir, what is the truth of the newes concerning Boswell, who is a great confident heere? Is *Lo. Culp. at Court* and doth *he come to counsell*? I easily beleeve Bamphfield stands faire with Oliver, and his frends heere like him the better for itt. Your frend *Lo. Gerard* (as I was told by the person to whom he spake it) sayes he will goe over and the *Duke of Buckingham* sayes the like, and that they are assured by knowing men (suppose *Sir Eder. Herbert*) that, being there, they may doe as other people doe there to keepe in favor with Oliver, and did thereupon belch out such base and horrid language of our *Mr.* that my Inck is not black enough to express. *Lo. Gerard* misseth few dayes of spending his tyme all the afternoones with *Lo. Jermyn* and *Sir Jo. Berkley*, one or both in the coach without any other; and wee see them pass by our back doore. At present *D. Gloucester*, *Lo. Gerard*, *Lo. Jermyn*, *Sr Jo. Berkley*, &c., are at *Wa: Montagues* for 3 or 4 dayes. It is exceedingly to be feared that *D. Gloucester* will contract soe great a rudenes (besides other vices) as may be very troublesome and incorrigible another day; and, beleeve me, *Mr. Lovel* signifies soe little about him as it hath noe effect but contempt on *Mr. Lovell* himselfe. I pray God wee find not the effects when it is to late. I receive these things from hands I dare trust and are domestick with me. Indeed *D. Gloucesters*

carriage to all persons is unsupportable. As for Sr Ed. Herbert 1654.
and my Ladyes motion, I suppose by this tyme her arrivall in
Holland hath certified you that her husband is yet heere. He
lodgeth in a meane lodging with one Colonel Robinson in the same
chamber ; but his whole day is spent att our Queenes Court, where
he is very gracious and keepes up soe high he descends to no lower
then Lo. Jarmin and Lo. Gerrard. I have it from a Gent. of
credit that warning his (*sic*) given to Mr. Herbert, one of the E. of
Pembroke's sonnes, who lived in my Lady Herberts house in the
Strand, that the present Government will have him quit the house
and give way to Sr Ed. Herbert, who is there expected. And it is
added that he has leave to practice there his profession of the law.
Of the first part I am sure ; the second comes from a good hand,
but not soe cleere as the first. I am in much admiration that
Sr Spencer Compton^a should be in the company of that deere friend
of yours you mention. I assure you Sr Spencer writ to me to serve
him att court ; but I am most assured this alteration comes from
some designe from *Lo. Gerard* and *Sir E. Herbert*, for I find it is
a very great plott to represent *Pr. Rupert* and subordinatly *Lo.
Gerard* head of the swordmen and make it good by little insigni-
ficant particulars. But I am sure they can not pervert that sweet
young gentleman, though for a while they may abuse him. . . .

I am eternally

Your owne,

S. S.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

2.

Paris, 2 Octob., 1654, St. No.

I hope ere this you have receaved mine of the 25 of the last f. 226.
month ; and I have now settled myselfe to give you a weekly
account of what occurs worth informing. Indeed, my hart hath

^a Fourth son of Spencer, 2nd Earl of Northampton ; he died at Brages in 1659.

1654. ever misgiven me for Scotland, and I cannot beleieve that God will give that honor to the first of rebels to suppress the worst of rebels and introduce his Ma^{ty}, but I rest confident it will be the worke of his owne hand, all the parties being to much contaminated for such a glorious atchievement. At the English court heere they crie down Scotland much. There is sure some treaty on foot, for Mr. Cooly ^a is parted hence for England. Bampfild is certainly very bad, as my informations out of England assure me ; and soe was Fitz James that was drowned, in whose pockets were found treacherous papers and in particular some reflections upon Cap: Griffin, who lives neere Dieepe, w[h]ere Bamfield hath certainly bin as well as in England. I undertake the finding out a correspondent, though I cannot yet tell you whom ; but having conferred with my sonne (who goes shortly back), he is confident that he and *Dick Lane* will find out an able sufficient person, who shall be ambitious of the imployment and looke for his future rewarde when wee returne. And to that purpose, if you please to send the cypher of words in your next, my sonne shall take it with him and expedite the bussines. I am exceeding glad to heere that Count William and his lady have bin with the King ; for I am confident as many as are unsatisfied would return from him satisfied, even madnes itselfe, the Queene of Swead. I pray what passed in the message from the K. to her, sent by the E. of Norwich ? Shee passeth heere for an athiesticall madwoeman. I pray, Sir, bath the King of Swead writ a civill letter to the King and made him generall offers of assistance ?—for soe somm letters tell us. I protest I am so pationatly troubled for the remuant humour of our frend^b that I know not what to say. It is miraculous that a person of his experience and truly abilities should wander up and downe to seeke his enemies arguments for their mesprise of him and to render him insignificant to his frends. It is impossible he can pretend service to his Mr. by itt. And I

^a Probably Abraham Cowley the poet.

^b The Earl of Norwich, as appears from Nicholas's endorsement.

wonder he should see complaine of wants and lead the most expens- 1654.
full way. I wish it were possible to reclaime him

Your owne,

S. S.

I pray, Sir, is not worthy *Coll. Warren* as yett of his *Majestys Bed Chamber*? He is one whom all love very well that love honest men. Wee had a whisper of it ere they went hence and hoped it would be soe, as much as wee hoped and were assured by *Mr. Chancellor* that *Tho. Killegrew* should not be. Is he or noe? You have ill pennes at Court that relate to the English Court heere. I heare they speake well heere of *Ea. Rochester*. Have they reason for it? *Mr. Harding* is exceedingly well spoken of by the Queene for his full and honest letters. I will not make a practice thus to clog your paquet.

GEN. MIDDLETON.

MY DEAR FATHER,

f. 227.

The bearer is a person so much trusted by you and indeed so deservedly worthie of trust that I shall say little but remit you to his relatione, which will be more large then comfortable. I shall say little for myselfe, but that I have not [been] nor shall not be wanting in my paines in goeing about my deutie. I know our master is so just that he will not measure my actions by successe, and I [am] most confident that after you have hard all the bearer heas to say you will pitie the conditione and pardon the weaknesse of,

My dear father,

Your most fathfull servant and

most obedient sonne,

JO. MIDDLETONE.

Achalader, Octob. 4, 1654.*

Endorsed by Nicholas: My sonne L. G. Middleton to me by Capt. Pet. Mewes.

* For a letter from Middleton to Hyde of the same date see *Cal. Char. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 400.

1654.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

3.

Paris, 9 Oct., 1654, St. No.

f. 228.

My indisposition together with that of my daughters and some bussines have retarded me soe long that I must hasten for feare of the post ; and the want of matter heere to write makes me take the liberty to insert a particular touching my selfe. When his Mat^y came first King to St. Germaines, it pleased him to signe a warrant drawne for me by your worthy sonne, a copy whereof Mr. Heath will shew you, and the originall I shewed unto *Sir Ed. Hide* before he went hence, to the end that if his M^y should take a longer jorney, or doe the like for any other, then this warrant should be pressed for execution, assuring my selfe I should not soe fall in esteeme as to have another put over my head, which surely would make me desert the thing.^a Now, because wee heare by letters from your parts to some heere that the like is thought on for others, I have thought fitt to trouble you with my desires that, if I stand still in his Mat^{ies} good opinion, I desire the said warrant may be served in order of its date, and that all possible secrecy be used in passing of itt. I have entreated Mr. Heath to attend you and follow your advice in all parts of the bussines. My sonne will kiss your hands in a letter of his owne by the next post. The Queene continues ill, as much *vexed* as sick, as they heere say, by reason of *the Kings* noble wayes, which recover others. Such difference there is in natures ! Wee have nothing of newes out of England, nor any stirring heere worth sending. The Duke of Joyeuse^b being dead. Mademoiselle de Guise hath bin att Court to sollicite his charges for his sonne ; but her answeare is that, for the

^a This identifies Hatton as the writer of an unsigned letter of the same date to John Heath, King's Counsel, in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 400. The nature of the warrant does not appear ; but from his letter below, 12 Mar. 1655, it seems that Hatton wanted to be made a Viscount.

^b Louis de Lorraine, died 27 Sept., from a wound received at Arras. His son was only four years of age.

Colonell-ship, it must goe to Mancini^a the Cardinals nephew, 1654.
 rendring nevertheless some consideration to her nephew (which
 will be little enough), and the Grand Chambellain shall continue in
 the family, and as they say to the Duke of Guise at present. Wee
 heare noe more of the French army then if they were in Turkey.
 There is talke of the Courts returne hither, for the Parisians are
 exeeding grumblng and the taxes promised to be abated are
 augrented, and they are now upon a way to put all the Kings
 gifts to the Nobility upon taxes, insoemuch as the King hath newly
 given to the Prince de Courtney,^b (who pretends to descend from
 our English Courtneyes) 3 liards upon each *may de vin* that enters
 Paris ; which in tyme will make the nobility as much hated of the
 people as the Cardinall desires they should be. I hope I shall have
 more matter for next week.

I am, Sir,

Your owne most affectionatly
 and faithfully,
 S. S.

As to your question of my opinion of the gentleman you mention
 to have writ unto you, I find him very civill by the same hand that
 makes him see to you, and in his discourses very right and free
 enough of speaking of those wee care not for. Yett lett me tell
 you he stands exeeding faire with them and with the *Queene*, and
 I find many unsatisfied with him as to the side and party. Others,
 and such as I dare trust, assure me much of his athiesme. His
 rightnes to our cause I take up upon my implicite faith of *Sir E.*
Hide and Marquis Ormonde, being inclinable *errare cum Patribus*
 rather then to pass for singular amongst my frends. I pray he be
 not to right with *Sr Jo. Berkly and Jermin*. The Kindred and

^a Philippe Lucien Mancini-Mazarini, afterwards Duke of Nevers and heir to
 Card. Mazarin.

^b Louis, head of the French branch of the Courtenays.

1654. Kindnes is great, and surely *the Queen* doth not use to be soe kind, as all heere say she is to him, save to persons at least noe eninies to *Jermin*. I assure you heere was great wonder and [at?] the sudden frendship betwixt him, *Ormonde and Sir M. Hide*.

HENRY BENNET.^a

From y^e Camp at Cateau Cambresis,
this 9th of Octob. 1654.

SIR,

- f. 230. All the advantage for the present that hath been made of the victory at Arras^b is the keeping our Army in the eninies countrye and establishing two such garrisons, one at Quenoye and another lesse here at Cateau, as may extende the boundes of the Frontiers and, as some flatter themselves, dispose this country in time to a totall revolt from the Spanish Gouverment, if the Kings armes continue soe succesfull as they have lately been abroad and receive noe disturbance from any disorders at home. The greate advance made into this countrye had noe other end then by giving a generall fright to hinder the eninies taking y^e feild againe this yeare, but it hath not succeeded accordingly, they having some recruits just then in readinesse, with which they have still begot themselves afoote and are now encamped within foure leagues of us with an armye little inferiour to ours in foote and perhaps superiour in horse, but otherwise verry much incomodated for want of baggage, which (contrary to what wee reade in stories) is the only advantage of these Armyes. Besides this, they speake of greate recruits of Irish brought out of Spaine by My lorde Dillon, which yet will scarce bee able to take the feild this campagne. The Court is come as farre as the Frontiers with a resolution, as it was

^a Afterwards Earl of Arlington (vol. i. p. 294). He was at this time Secretary to the Duke of York, acting as Lieut. General of the French army under Turenne.

^b On 25 Aug., when Turenne defeated Condé and the Spanish, and relieved Arras.

beleevd, of putting our Army upon some new seige; but wee now thinke they will bee content, if wee can secure this part of the countrey which wee have gotten. The troopes that weare to come hither out of Guyenne, with some to bee seperated from Mons^r de la Ferte's^a army, shall bee sent to beseige Clermont, notwithstanding the succours the enemy have already cast into it.

As for the countenance of this crowne towards Englande it seemes for the present to bee quite changd; for, whereas they weare upon their knees begging a peace of them upon all the dishonorable conditions you have hearde off, now they beleeeve Cromwells condition soe unsecure from the opposition he hath receivd in this new Parle-ment that, till he hath cleard himselfe of these difficulties, they are resolv'd to disavowe all thoughts of agreeing with him and, insteade of that, expresse a greate deale of joy at the hopes they conceive of seeing the King our Master reestablish'd, for which I see God will have us beholding to the revolutions at home, since wee are able to obtaine nothing towards it abroad but good wishes. I would not willingly in the begining make you weary of my correspondence and therefore insteade of lengthning my first relations tell you that which will please you better, that his R. H. thanks you for your complements to him, which certainly he will better receive immediately from your selfe. To dispose you to the making them I may without flatterye tell you that he hath an extraordinary esteeme and kindenesse from this whole countrey, but most especially here in the Armyes, where his application to learne this profession and his behaviour in it is every bodyes wonder; but I presume you know all this already.

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

HENRY BENNETT.

^a Jacques d'Etampes, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault, Marshal of France in 1651.

1654.

COL. ALEXANDER DURHAM.^aR^t HONO^{ll},

Amsterdam, the 15 of Oct., 1654.

f. 232.

I have nou Deen four dayes at Amster[dam] and hath speake at large with *Wi. Da.*^b concerning all the particulars of my *instructions*, who I still fynd so reall and constant a servant to his *Ma^{tie}* that the misfortounes of our freindes nothing at all shakes his resolutiones, but rather animates him to doe beyond what he hath formerly promised. Wee have been particularly thinking on the safest way of *transportacion*. To hyre a man of warre is altogether impossible without being discovered and so consequently betrayed, and tho wee should hyre them, yet wold they never *fitt* should the *Rebells* pursue them, ther being nou edicts of so strict a freindship (or rather subjection) that, if any should, it were the losse of lyfe and fortoun to them. But *Mr. Da.*, to give yet further testimonie of his affection to his *Ma^{tie}*, if it shall be thought altogether convenient to have a *war ship* besides the *galiot*, he will caulse buy on himselfe and put his auin *men* with the *Kings Comission*. What shall be concluded on in relation to this, let me knou it, when yee think convenient; for *Wi. Da.* desires 14 or 20 *dayes* advertisement for provyding all thinges (lesse ther can not be), after which tym they shall be ready at the place appointed. As for a ship for *horse*, ther are abondance to be had of all sortes, from 10 to 50. Yee ar only to advertise me for what number and she shall be ready; only yee are to take notice, that *Freiseland* must be the place of rendevouse for her, ther being no place heare for such busines. As for the tents, they shall be ready whensoever yee give order; the *saddles*, his *Ma.* hath caused wreat to another for provyding them. I have as yet found out no

^a Son of Sir James Durham, of Pitkerrow; afterwards Lord Lyon King of Arms.

^b William Davidson or Davison, a Scotch merchant of Amsterdam. His zeal in the royal cause was made known to Thurloe by one of his spies (*Thurloe St. Pap.*, ii. pp. 260, 319, 374).

surgeon nor *ingenier*, but shall indeavour what I can to fynd them. I have sent all the particulars of *Davisons* accounts to *Lo. Newbury*. As for the *armes* I can as yet find non to undertake the bargain and bear the hazard ; if it be don heare, it will be at a great rate. I shall, God willing, by the next inform you more particularly concerning this ; however, my advise is, if yee can gett any will undertake the bargaine, bearing all hazards, that yee agree on reasonable termes. As for Mr. *Da.*, he desires no meddling with it nor advantage by it ; only, if ther wer money he wold take all the paines and give all the assistance he could to see it bestowed to the best advantage for the service. I have nothing of certaine from our freinds in Scotland. I pray God ther conditione wer in such a posture for receaving his Maj., as I shall quickly gett all thinges in readines for his transportation. . . .

Your most humble obedient and faithfull servant,

447.

Endorsed by Nicholas : Coll. Durham.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

4.

Paris, 16 Octob., 1654.

I have had the contentment of your third. As for the miraculous f. 234. escape of *my sonne*, it was in his escaping *prison*, since he was as deepe and as forward in the discreeter *designe in Eng[land]* as any particupar (*sic*) *present* and his bedfellow was *taken* and he escaped by their being accidently severed *that night*, and trully I keepe him with me in great paine, for his hart is there and he minds nothing but *the Kings service*, wherein he can be capable, and had not come to me now, put that a mistaken letter gave me out to be in a worse condition of health then I thanke God I am. And though I could with reason enough give myselfe the content of his company, being as much comfort to me as a child can be to a parent, yet I cannot lett my fondnes check his dutiful resolutions for *his Ma^{ties}*

1654. *service*. It is true he is come by the leave of his mothers pass, who is to returne againe.

As for *Mr. Seamours*^a *business*, I thought *Sir E. H[ides]* *letter* would have explained it; but, since you command itt, I pray burne it being read. I shall send you nothing therein but what is infalibly true and much from his owne mouth. At his first arrivall he addressed unto Strickland^b desiring him to present him to Cromwell. Strickland asked him if he heard of the troubles there before he quit France. *Mr. Seamour* answered he heard of them at Calais. He told him he was then madd to come over and in wisdome should have staid a while or else have retired as soone as he came over untill the storme were over, and soe adviced him yet to doe, but *Seamour* pressed the being presented unto Cromwell. He told him then at his perill be it, and soe conducted him to him. *Cromwell* asked him what he had done in France, whether he had seene his Maister, and wondred he could thinke to elude by the idle pretexts he gave him for his journey and returne. *Seamour* denied the sight of his Maister; *Cromwell* told him when and where he saw him and in wat romes and some things that were said, as *Seamour* doth acknowled. He persists yet in deniall, whereupon *Cromwell* raised his threats soe high that *Seamour* fell as low as his feete and there lay begging for his life in much distraction. He was then by Cromwell and his Secretary examined who else he saw in *Paris*. *Seamour* acknowledgeth none but *Lo. Hatton*; being urged who he saw or mett there, he names *Sir E. Hi[de]*; asked if *Sir E. H.* came frequently to *Lo. Hatton*, he sayes I (sc. aye); asked what talke passed, he sayes *Sir E. H.* found fault with the meat and such like railleries; asked of the intimacy betwixt *Sir E. H.* and *Lo. Hatton*, he sayes there was much; asked

^a Henry Seymour, who left Paris for London at the beginning of June (*Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 245), and was committed to the Tower on the 17th (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 274). He was probably betrayed by Col. Bampfield (cf. his letters to Thurloe in *Thurloe St. Pap.*, ii. pp. 385, 510).

^b Walter Strickland, Member of Cromwell's Council and Captain of the Guard.

what letters or messages *Hatton* sent by him, he saies none, nor 165
 knew he any in *Engl[and]* that corresponded with *Hatton*. He
 was highly urged and threatned upon that point, as *Seamour* sends
Hatton word. He was then sent to a colonels lodging as a prisoner,
 which recovered him againe and he was settled again in mind.
 There the many applications made to him did much scare him, and
 his reservednes (perhaps with discretion) did yet soe disorder the
 Kings party as none knew what to thinke or doe. After a while
 he was sent to the Tower, which gave him such sad apprehensions
 as he fell into great disorder of mind and neere irrecoverable, put
 tyme hath wrought itt off. Most people wish he had staid att Calais
 in many respects, and for his owne sake it had beene worth his
 while. There be many other particulars to long for a letter.

Doubtless *Lo. Cul[peper]* is a perfect creature of *Lo. Jermyn* and a
 sworne enemy to *Sir E. H.* even to death, and whence they come I
 know not, but odd letters come from Court hither. I am very much
 amazed att the report spread of 515^a two sonnes and one of your
 worthy ones, and dare assure you it was spread by *Sir Jo. Berkley*
 and that gang and was exceedingly rejoyced att by honest men, with
 whom *the Princess* will remaine in her former little esteeme when
 they shall know as I doe that this is false. Indeed, what shee and
the King have done for *Lo. Percy* hath beene as serviceable to the
 Rebels as an Army and as dishartning to honest men. Lord
Percy is arrived in this towne from the waters; and the Duke of
 Gloucester is gon to Abbot Mountagues at Pontoyse for ten dayes
 and soe much longer as the Queene shall remaine att Chaliot in her
 nunnery, which makes the Papists very jocond and in truth much
 discontents honest men. God send that Princely youth a happy
 mans estate; many feare the ill effects of his education. I give you
 many thanks for your care of Cle[mments] bussines^b As for *For*,

^a The cipher for Holland, no doubt a mistake for 517, i.e. Hyde (above, p. 89).

^b He refers to a memorial, enclosed in his letter of 25 Sept, in favour of John Clement, for whom he had procured a patent, 8 July, 1654, to be clerk of the Royal

1654. it is true wee knew he was to exercise the charge, but without title or promise for the future, as *Sir E. H.* assured us from *the King*, and *Sir E. H.* had our bussines in hand many monthes ere *Foe* was thought on for the execution ; nor will the execution make much, for *Lo. Jermyns* men did it and *the K[ing's]* cookes att other tymes, soe that, as wee doe not grudge him the present execution out of our modesty who would not press upon the King att this, soe wee expect not that he shall be a barr or delay to us heereafter, since wee were next after his Mat^{ies} and his blessed fathers servants formerly actually in those places and continueing honest, of which there will not prove enough to deprive us of his Mat^{ies} gracious intentions and promise. As for *Mr. Ben[net]* all I can say is for the better ; for doubtless he hath given great satisfaction by the affablenes he now shewes to all, and his former estranging made him deemed proud. I will hope the best and relye upon *the Marq. of Ormondes* and *Sir E. Hydes* Judgement rather then mine owne, or those many others which are not yet satisfied as I am. I thought the Princess Sophia had bin married to the Prince of Transilvania and since dead. - I hope it will assure the King of Swead to the King, if that alliance goe on. Mr. Church is very well, and in good condition to our outward appearance. Mr. Deane Cosins is exceeding ill and I cannot thinke he will last long ; and wee shall be senceible of his loss when he is gone. He is exceeding poore and necessitous, if (*sc. even*) to the want of necessities for his health, and hath not any thing heere coming in for officiating att the Residents weekly and with the Duke of Gloucester dayly. I cannot thinke he will last out till Christmas. . . .

Your owne unalterably,
S. S.

Kitchen. The place was given to the well-known Stephen Fox, afterwards Paymaster to the Forces, etc.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble}

Hage, 16 8br, 1654.

1654.

f. 236.

This weeke hath brought us very little and the omissions are more observable then the relations. Wee only sawe the Politicus; the Occurrents came not over, and this French I send you hath only of their Parliament, what was in thother bookes of last week, and much of the Scotch. The Politicus sayes that, in regard the proceedings in parl. are soe variously reported, he forbears to relate any, and that none must be reported but by order of the clarke of y^e parl., and I beleeve he hath his orders what to licence. I beleeve Cr[omwell] may be soe wise as to see the use was made in the beginning of the parl. of the presse and publishing of parl. diurnalls, and soe will not leave himselfe open to the humours which that enter-taynement of the people will produce. I cannot heare of any letter that mencions any stirring humour upon this new undertaking of Cr[omwell] and, if he goe through with this conventicle of his, it may add much to his strength. Their bookes talke still of Scotland, but yet place Midd[leton] in Caithnes, and that Overton^a is sent thither. They report his forces inconsiderable, but yet take great care to destroy the Country. But I still beleeve that, unlesse something breake out in England, little good wilbe done elsewhere but by way of diversion and holding them play whiles others worke another way. The Politicus speakes nothing of the increase of their number in parl. this weeke, and I sawe a letter that increaseth not a man this weeke. I am told and beleeve upon some ground of knowledge, that many of those y^t now sitt in this wretched assembly are noe freinds to Cro., but subscribed to continue their power to worke a designe there, and it is noe more improbable then other things of like kinde that wee have seene.

Sir R[ichard] P[age] tells me he is going, but how soone I know not; I think it wilbe sudden. I told him what I had from you. Mr.

^a Col. Richard Overton, Governor of Hull, sent to succeed Col. Morgan (Whiteock, p. 606).

1654. Barrow^a was with me last night, and mocioned that he knew one whome he beleeeved inclinable to advance mony for a Baronye, and that, if it were likt, he would adventure a journey into England. He did beleeeve the man was yet on't nor [wanted] mony, and that he might be perswaded to it. He desired me to signifie it to you, with whome alone he would have it rest. I told him the difficultyes in passing a grant and the feare that now would possesse any on y^t side. If you please to take notice of it in your next y^t I may give him the answere. Wee heare nothing of *Sir Ed. H[erbert]*, whether he remayne yet where he was. *Lady [Herbert]* is yet with us, but I have not lately heard anything done, but beleeeve they cannot be idle. *Lo. Culpeper* came lately hither and gave me a cast of his office y^t my frinds remembered me, among whome Mr. Ch[ancellor] and you. There is a newes in the booke of one Holland killed neere the Starrechamber doore. It seems to be the man that was my Lady of Arundells agent, and some letters say it was done by Mr. H. Howarde^b and that he is taken or hath rendred himselfe. It is a sadd accident and a great pitty for that person. The L. Rinswood is gone for Delfe about this pittifull disaster of blowing upp the towne by the Magazine.^c . . .

The Articles betwene Swede and the rebells are printed here. I finde not that they have entred into such combinations as the Dutch, it being as farr as I see but a peace upon usuall termes and a liberty of trade, and, as I understand it, they give greater liberty for the importacion of commodities then to y^e Dutch, and impose not the act of trade upon them.

Your Honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a "Mr. Barrow, the late King's linen-draper" (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 129).

^b So Whitelock, 27 Sept., p. 606. Henry Howard, second son of Henry Frederic, Earl of Arundel, succeeded his brother as Duke of Norfolk in 1677. He was convicted of manslaughter, having acted in self-defence, 12 Feb., 1655 (*Perfect Diurnall*, No. 270, 5-12 Feb.).

^c Whitelock, 17 and 27 Oct., states that 700 barrels of powder exploded, 500 persons being killed, and 500 houses burnt (p. 607).

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble}Hage, 23 S^r, 1654.

1654.

f. 239.

. . . . Amb. Tom^a is here and his habit is noe prôofe of a poore court; his mistris is now arrived. He discourses in other company as well as to me of his estate; what the persons interessèd conceave of it I heare not. Sir M[iles] H[obart?] is still here. Dr. Whitacres^b sonnes are now both heere. I have not yet spoken with them nor their father, but heare they speake very hardly of Midd[leton] as well as the business I heard before, but did not beleeve when Weeks reported it at first, that they were altogether discontented; and it may be the unavoydable hardnes of the place and service caused that humour. Wee have not now a word from thence, nor is Cap. Strahan here. You heare, I beleeve, of Cr[omwell's] message to his parliament touching the designe of the fleete, y^t it was not to be publicly communicated, but he would doe it to a select number, if they would appoint one, and they would not, but left it to him. This is saied, but I have not any ground for it. I was lately told that the French agent and Cr[omwell] are agreed to remove the Q. and D. of Yorke out of their territoryes upon this peace, and a wager offered upon the truth of it by Col. Syd[ney]. The States know nothing of it, nor the particular articles of Swede; and, when I told your frinde of the articles, he askt whether I were sure of the copy, which I saied was printed, and that there I had it. He was wholly ignorant of it, and with all said that Cr[omwell] by the Articles with them was to give them notice of his Agrements with other States. . . .

Your honours humble and faithful servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Thomas Killigrew, late ambassador at Venice.

^b See above, p. 60; and for the information they brought from Scotland, *Cal. Char. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 441.

1654.

COL. ALEX. DURHAM.

R^t HONO^u

58, the 26 of Oct. 1654.

f. 241.

. The people heare, at least the governours, are wholly dedicat to *Cromwell*, which makes every on extremly warie of making bargaines hes any relation to *the King*. Our freind M^r *Davison* (tho the danger, if knouen, is not lesse then his whole fortoun) is very firme to what he hath *promised*, but is most earnestly desirous that *his name* be not on any tearmes mad knouen to any other *what some ever*; if *it be*, he will altogether disown *us*, for his *ruine* can bring no advantage to *his Matie*. I assured him such *feare* was neadlesse, non in the world knew any thing of *him* (but such and such persones) as having any interest amongst *us*. He is yet in a reasonable good humor, and my endeavour shall be to keepe him so. What yee resolve upon in relation to my *Instruccions*, let me have tymous advertisement, for it is not a *day* nor ten will be enough to gett all in readines. For till yce give me positive orders, nothing hes yet a beginning. I have been trying severalls in relation to *armes*; but without *money* nothing can be expected, the sight of which were a temptation to overcom all difficulties. Non of these parted from you are yet heare arryved. God give them a sudden and successfull journey. As for neues, I can give you non y^t are certaine; only on that cam from Scotland Saturday was eight dayes was with me yesterday. The report he sayes was ther that Mid[dleton] was fallen down within 5 myles of S^t Johnston and had som 15 hundred Irishe with him, that Athole was not yet com in, and that Glencairne was much condemned ther by all honest men. He spoak with severalls that were com in, who still said, if *the King* were com over, they wold all to him, his presence being still much desired by all ther, who think the busines not yet so desperat but that wer a cure to it. God of heavin give him a wise heart, that he may know what is best

amidst these extremeties. Those Irishe talkt of must be some Iles 1654.
men, but I beleave not they are yet so farr down. Lorn was
certainly reported to be joined with Mi[ddleton] and had taken a
ship belonging to the Rebels.^a Ever since I came in this countrey
I have been still at *Amsterdam* (only 2 or 3 dayes privatly at the
Hage), and wher I intend to remaine to attend *his Ma^{ties}* orders,
my busines lying most in this place. I am now evry moment
waiting to heare from *Col. Bla.*^b and shall sturr no wher till he
com . . .

Your most faithful servant,

ALEX. DURHAM.

Sr, you have nou great need to knou what persones yee employ
Loth for ther fidelity and ability, our credit being now intearly lost
at *Hambourg*, they say, for on of the two defects of the person was
ther. If those were ingaged had not had tymous notice, ther
whole estates had payed the fyne; as it was, the poor Scotess man ther
lost 500 rex dollorres by it. This not only frightens all ther but
heare and every where else, my freind having let me see a letter
wreat to him, wher they expostoulat against it as a thing designd
of purpose to ruin them, advising him to take head he meddle not
in the lyke. These are good helpes for me, I confesse (not to be
don of purpose, as I have charity enough for that). It was the
worst ordered busines and most against common sense that ever I
kneu any project put a foot; I wishe it may be the last in that
kynd.

^a So Whitelock, 19 Sept., p. 606.

^b Col. Thomas Blagge, now on his way to Scotland to Middleton (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 391).

1654.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble}Hagh, 27 8^{ber}, 1654.

f. 243.

. . . . I have little expectacion of activity in England by all the reports I heare. The English letters came not till last evning and soe late as I could not see the prints, but heare they conteyne little but that in thend of one they speake of Glangeryes submission and Articles sent to Montrosse.^a This I was told, but sawe it not. Its written^b and is without contradiction true that Cromwell in Hyde Parke would become the coachman and went into the box and Thurlow in the coach, and whipping the horses they ran soe feircely as he fell out of box upon the beame or pole before, and after to the ground. He had some hurt in his side, face and elsewhere, and Thurlow leaping out hurt his legge. They say he is well recovered but is much out of countenance; he had beene lett blood. They saie the horses were sent him by the D[uke] of Oldenburge. It looks like an omen that, as Phaeton desiring to governe the chariot of the sunn fell headlong, and this usurper may shortly misse his seate. Some write his parl increaseth, but that they make a rubb upon the 5th article of the government, that he and his Councell may make warr and peace, which they dislike and would not have it without parl.; but this comes by letter and I heare it not from the bookes Dr Whitacres sonnes that came out of Scotland speake much to the disadvantage of Middleton; they say the covenant is still preacht in his army, that God will incline the heart of the King to the Covenant. I intended to speake with them ere now, but have beene disappointed. Sir R[ichard] P[age] promised I should heare from him before he went hence, but I am now told that he went away Friday last and

^a See the articles agreed upon, 23 Sept., in *Col. St. Pap.*, p. 370.

^b The accident happened on 29 Sept. (9 Oct.), so that the news had been long in reaching the Hague.

with him Colonell Owen^a and Captayne Arthur; I doubt the
 commyng over of these men will rayse suspitions. Wee heare not
 any thing of the fleete. I have now little expectacion of Scotland,
 and therefore the presbiter[ians] will have lesse confidence; for as
 long as any thing was done there, they alwayes putt in for a share.
 Though I suspect excuses and beleeve they proceede from inward
 unwillingnes, yet I am told confidently that the people of England
 at the Kings commynge in last from Scotland were much troubled
 with the talke of the covenant and that it was a reall hinderance
 of many. Mr Barrow will shortly be with you, and then you
 may be particularly informed of what I wrote from him. There
 was one yesterday at my lodging from the Lady Page, but I was
 not within; what her errand was I understand not yet. Its reported
 here the Pr[incess] comes to Breda; some that are much her frinds
 wish shee went not from this place and beleeve it may prove pre-
 judiciall. I sawe a booke lately written to declare the justice of
 Cromwells new goverment, a translation into Latyne, the originall
 being English, which, if I could gett it, should have an answer,
 if it were thought seasonable; but it cannot be soe well done by
 the translation, unlesse the answere were Latyne. . . .

Your honours faithful servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

Paris, $\frac{30}{10}$ Octob., 1654.

I was about to answeare yours of the $\frac{10}{10}$ instant and to have
 saluted *Sir Ed. H[yde]* by himsele in answeare to his of the same
 date with yours, but the following story must excuse me to you
 both. *Sir G. Ratcliff* came to me this day and called me from

^a Perhaps the Col. William Owen named by Manning the spy to Thurloe, 26 June, 1655, as having been engaged "in the late design" (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1655, p. 219).

dinner to advertise me that having bin yesterday att the *Jesuits Colledge of Clermout* to visit father *Spruile*, a Scotchman, he found his chamber full of masons and carpenters, who told him the owner was removed but could not tell him whither, which constrained him to knock at a neighbors lodging, who without scruple told him why he was removed, saying it was to prepare an apartement for the *Du. of Gloucester*, who was speedily to be admitted into the house, and led him to the party he asked for. After some little discourse [he] asked *Sir George* if he had heard nothing of the preparing his lodging for a better man; who telling him what had bin newly told him, the father asked him what would be the opinion of the world upon this great action. *Sir George* told him it was a thing would be discoursed of problematically, some approving, others disproving. The father told him it was the opinion of wise persons that itt would doe the *King Engl.* bussines. I find *Sir George* hath consulted others and was advised to send to *Du. Yorke*, but he resolved, as he saith, to write thus much to *Lo. Ormond* with entreuty to shew it to the *King*. He let fall divers other things in the conference, as of his late reconciliation with the *Queene* Mediante *Lo. Percy* and *Lo. Jermyn*, both which come to vissit him, and of a discourse of *Lo. Percys* against *Lo. Ormond*, *Sir Ed. II.* and other honest men, as sharpe as false and scandaious. The termes are to base to write and indeed not fitt for *Sir George* to have heard patiently. Amongst other things he let fall that *Lo. Percy* said he was promised some authority over *Du. Gloucester* with private written instructions, but said they were not sent, nor there was noe bussines minded but liberty and good fellowship, and thereupon fell upon scurrilous stuffe of *Dan O'Neile* and *Lady Standhop*^a and *Lord Tuff* and *Mrs. Barlow*,^b and not sparing the

^a Lady Stanhope, then wife of Heer van Heenvliet; she married Col. Daniel O'Neile as her third husband (vol. i. p. 203, note).

^b Lucy Walters, Monmouth's mother, who took the name Barlow when she accompanied her kinsman John Barlow to Paris in 1648 (E. Laws, *Little England*

best with the basest termes and reproaching how short he came of his predecessors. Then *Sir George* said he had directions from the *King* to overlooke *Du. Gloucester* and to advertise the *King*, if any thing were amiss, and that he had foretold what would happen, put it was slighted and that *Lo. Percy* said it was slited out of fainte hartednes of those that governed and seemed to magnify the *Queene* and *Lo. Jermyn* faction. In conclusion *Sr George* said he thought fitt and was advised to tell *Lo. Hatton* of what concern'd the-*Du. of Gloucester* to the end that he might have witnes another day he gave timely notice. I asked him what he did expect at my hands; I was ready to contribute what possible my endeavors could effect to the prevention. He asked if *Lo. Hatton* would speake with *Du. of Gloucester* about it; I said, most willingly. He then proposed the difficu[lt]yes in regard of the hazard of the *Queenes* displeasure; I told him in this case I feared it not, since I would give noe just cause. He parted. About a little while after my *Lo. Doncale*^a came to me with excessive disturbance and sadness att the advancement of this bussines thus farr, and said all would be taken to be by connivence, since *D. Gloucester* was heere left against all the rules of prudence and the passionate expressions of the *Kings* party. To this I must adde the worthy *Deane of Peterborough*, who notwithstanding his great illnes came to me with teares. He complains his name was used to stop clamours in regard he should have some charge in this bussines and he never had any expressed in writing, and sayes when *D. Gloucester* was to goe to *Mr. Mountague*, though he were in the height of a fitt of the stone, he sent a clergyman to *Mr. Lovell* to entreat that in the *Du. Gloucesters* bedchamber he would read prayers out of the

beyond Wales, 1888, p. 353). There is much scandal about her in 1657 in the *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 392-401. In the interval she had returned to England and been imprisoned in the Tower, whence she was released on 1 July, 1656, to be sent back to Flanders with her child (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 4).

^a Presumably Arthur Chichester, cr. Earl of Donegal in 1647.

1654. liturgy, and he desired to be excused, saing he thought not fitt to give *Mr. Mount[ague]* that cause of offence. These passages together with his abstaining from all functions of his calling give more offence then will well be repaired. In fine, the good man is all most dejected and giving up all and soe struck with the newes of this told him by a bookesellar that I never saw him more dejected yet. I hop he will write as becomes him. Add to all this, that an English monke did yesterday openly heere in my house bless God for *Mr. Mountagues* good advancement of his treason in turning *the Duke of Gloucester*. I protest I am exceedingly out of tune, but I doe beleeve *the King* and his *Councell* did maturely consider of this bussines and did thinke they might rest upon *the Queenes* word ; but I hope they (*sic*) will now be noe cure but the absolute sending for *the Duke of Gloucester* from hence without any delayes or excuses and that they will command it not by letter only but by some discrete Authorised Person to fetch him. Give me leave to tell you both I have since this newes spoke with one you dare both trust and that came lately out of England and is speedily returning. He assures me things are there better then ever he knew them of late yeeres as to his *Maties* present *designe*, but vowes, if this newes gett thither (as you are not to doubt but it will ere this comes to you), he beleeves it will overthrow all in case *Du. Gloucester* be not removed hence and secured for his person and religion. I doe assure you the Papists are already busey with their old prophecy that Hen. the 9th must repaire what Hen. 8 ruined. My hand trembles, and I vow to God my hart, to thinke how they would dispose of *the King and the Duke of Yorke*, if once they had gott into their clawes *the Duke of Gloucester*. Beleeve it, Sir, noe minute must be lost for prevention and noe middle way will doe itt. Certaine it is *the Queene* did lately tell *the Duke of Gloucester* that the returne to England was laid out of her thoughts and all wise mens and that there was noe way left him to rise by but his booke and the Church and said he had lost his tyme at his booke; and

Mr Mountague is in the same tune and admires his parts and tell him what he may be. I have done with itt, having lodged it in your two hands, who I know will both contribute towards it what I could wish if I were present, and in that I will acquiesce. 1654.

I heare *Sir Ed. H[yde]*s deere friend *Lo. Gerrard* is soe highly displeased with *Lo. Jermyn* that he hath utter[ed] words to *Sir John Berck[ley]* which amont to the menace of a challenge, and I heere the *Queene* lyes at catch to turne *Lo. Gerrard* out of her Court even for that menace. *Lo. Percy* is the favorite and hath tuned his tongue for it; he sayes *Lo. Culpeper* hath writ to him to come to the *Kings Court* for he needs helpe, but *Lo. Percy* sayes he will not, though he expresseth his reasons in tearmes to base to repeat. There is lately gone from hence a sonn of the *Earle of Lyndses*, who being cosin Germain unto my wife,^a came to take his leave and spake in such language of the publick affaires as *Du. Buckingham*, *Lo. Gerrard* and *Lo. Aubigne* had infused into him, very disgracefull of the King and those about him whom he values. And he was not nice of his authors, nor indeed of his owne fathers opinion consonant to these; but what I thought fitt to particularise was that he had a message to be conveid to *Crumwell* from *Du. Buckingham*, which was to entreat his pass to come over and to be admitted to speake a few words to him very serviceable to *Crumwell*, and if they shall not appeare to be exceeding advantageous to his greatnes, he would be content to come back immediatly, and in assurance he had noe private aimes but meerely publique, if they would before his coming send him any deed of confirmation of their disposall of his estate or how they would have it disposed, he would signe it to satisfy them he had noe private designe for his owne interest. He is to come back, and I am sure he is open enough to give us his success. Sir, it growes to late to continue. I will by the next salute

^a Hatton married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Montagu, younger brother of Edward Montagu, 1st Lord Montagu of Boughton, whose daughter Elizabeth was wife of Robert Bertie, 1st Earl of Lindsey (d. 1642).

1654. you both separte and will beleewe I am with you both what I am to you both,

Sir, your most faithfull servant.

Since the close of my letter I am told by a domestique *Sir E. H[yde]* may ghesse att that the Academy was this day full of *the Duke of Glo[ucesters]* conversion and being a Religieux.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble}

Hage, 2⁹ber, 1654.

i. 248. Sir Ch. Lloyde was this mornying with the Q. of Bo[hemia]. He came out of England Satterday was sevenight, but saies noe more then the post brought, only that it was beleevd Cr[omwells] hurt was more then reported and that the Maior Cromwell, though lying in the Court, had not yet seene him since his fall. There was a letter written that saies the terrour was very great upon Parl. and Dutch Amb. and others, when it was att first reported that Cr[omwell] was killed, for they looked for a massacre of all y^t were not the Kings party. For my owne support in these said (*sc. sad*) tymes I never depended much on likelihoods, beleevinge that God hath a worke to finish which wee shall not see effected by the means wee imagine nor the tyme. And though I might think a breach betwene Cr[omwell] and his crew in Parl. might produce effects agreeable to our desires, yet that was by accident; and, though nothing yet have wrought as was expected, yet the humours of the people are stirred against him and the Dutch now think the people universally hate him The French Amb. speaks nothing of any peace concluded with the rebells and some say the French make high demands of their part; but they will soone discend I beleewe, and Cr[omwell] too well knowes their desires. However, if they admitt of y^t imperious demand of exclusion of the brothers, it wilbe a very great infamy and unbefittinge the potency of y^t crowne. I cannot think

Cro[mwell] will honour *Lo. Jermyn* soe much as name him in that list; and, if he doe, its out of some base reflexion, and I yet beleeeve its not done. Dr. Lloyde is not yet returned hither. When he comes I shall performe your commands by him; but y^t of the Articles of y^e Goverment is not to be bought here, though I sawe one of them. I have endeavored to get thother with the purpose of answer, and shall doe y^t of the Articles to send you. You know it hath bynne a common objection y^t enemyes have beene more favoured than constant frinds. There is a politique reason pretended for it in order to y^e publique, though it is seldom prosperous, but never in order to private interest. And though frinds may be presumed on, yet the constructions cannot be bounded of actions beinge out of the power of y^e actors

Your honours faithful servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

COL. ALEX. DURHAM.

Rt. Ho^{ll}.

Amster[dam], the 3 of Nov., 1654.

I rece^d your last of the 27 (as lykewise all your former) and delivered the inclosed to *Col. Bla[gge]*^a. To tell you the truth when I first rece^d his *Mat^es letters*, I was somewhat trubled, fearing the soliciting a neu busines, tho but small and inconsiderable, might prove dangerous to the former, yet having *his Mat^es* expresse comand to doe it mad me lay all difficulties asyde and doe my utmost endeavour to gett it accomlisht. *Mr. Da[vison]* was at first no lesse, or rather mor, surprised then my selfe, imagining his *Mat^e* was betrayd and he destroyd; but, being a man capable enough of reason, after a litell discourse he most freely condescended to doe what was desired. And tho the matter be not great, yet

* On his way to Scotland with letters from the King to Middleton, Athol, Seaforth, and others (see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 409).

1654. wee owe him great obligation; for I must tell you, Sir, for any thing I knou or can learne, all the *subjects* the *King* hath on this syde the *sea* wold not hazard so much on month without good *security*. Such is nou the aversenes of all our wicked ingrate *people*, and the feare that all hes becauis of the mutuall *Articles* betwixt *these two^a Rebell States*. However, I must recommend the repayment of it to your caire, that he may be encouraged to doe us a greater favour another tyme; for I wold gladly have him once try that all is not lost that's lent his *Ma^{tie}*. The *ship* is ordered to be in readines so soon as is possible. Co. *Bla^gye*] waites his Maje. further commandes by reason of som difficulties he hath had related to him heare, which I question not he hath fully mad knouen to you and shall receave orders accordingly; but I can assure you, Sir, ther shall be no stops ather from my freind or in any thing lyes in my pouer to serve and advance the busines he is about. Ther is a strange fatality mixt with a covetous rashnes attends all our intentiones and designes. Wee give care to evry fellow that proposes any thing of profit, without considering the persone, making him presently acquainted with our most privat affaires, by which meanes, if not betrayed, they are sure to miscarry or com to nothing. I beseeche you, Sir, let this be amended and try a litell befor yee trust evry charltane; for the great *Marchant* yee recommended *Col. Bl^{agge}* to for doing his busines and for other his undertakings is a thimble-maker (I meane he y^t lives at the *Busse*), a meere cheat that rambles up and down, not worth on farthing. He is com to be fully acquainted with all the busines and cam with confidence this day to *Mr. Da^{rison}*] and sheu him of his great imployments and promises from the *Prince*, as lykewise that he knew *Mr. Da^{rison}*] to be a great freind of his *Ma^{jesty}*] and was therfor com to communicat his busines with him. Yee may imagine hou

^a "these two": so according to the Key, but the interlined decipherment is "strength of."

this did startle him. Yet I have gott him almost persuaded that it's a meere conjecture of the fellowes, tho it trubles not a litell *Col. Bl[agge]* and my self to knou hou to be quyt and not disoblige him, least he should betray all, as I much feare houeuer he will doe us som bad service. The copie of those letters from Hamburg I shall send you be the next poast. I have been trying with severalls concerning a bargaine for *armes*. If ther wer present money to bragg them with, I question not to gett evry thing desired at as reasonable rates as were possible, to which our freind wold be assistant with all his pouer. . . .

Your most obedient humble servant,

ALEX. DURHAM.

COL. ALEX. DURHAM TO CHARLES II.

SIR,

According to your Maj. commands I delivered to M^r Davidsons your Maj. letter with my most effectuall tho cautious solicitation to have it obeyed; who, as I have ever found him most willing and ready in all thinges hes relation to your Maj. service, so in this he hath most freely obeyed your Maj. desires, and will furnishe what ship Co. Blagg shall think most proper for his transportation, to which wee are making all the haste possible. I confesse I was somewhat surprysed when I first receaved your Maj. letters, considering the difficulties and discouragements of the tymes and the weight of my former instructiones. Not without some reason I had apprehensienes of danger, least this small augmentation to the former burthen might chance overturn all. Yet tuo considerationes tooke away all feares; first I found (as it shall ever be my cheife ground stone) obedience to your Maj. commandes the best oblation, next least I should appeare to some a willfull obstrueter of what at present I hold most necessary for your Maj. service. But I must humbly begg of your Maj. to be tender in charging him any

1654. further, that I may be able to keepe him in the present free and unrepnying humor (which shall be my faithfull endeavour to doe) till the tyme your Majesty shall use him for the maine busines, in relation to which, according as your Maj. hath desired or shall desire, he hath fully condescended to performe. For that and every thing else I may be happy to serve your Maje. in, were it with the last of my blood, shall be most faithfully and diligently prosecuted, the least thought of a traitor or ingrate persone appearing to me horrible as hell, and the only glory and ambition I have is hou I may justly merit a share in your Maj. favour, which in all eclipses of misfortoun and extremities whatsomever shall still be the constant and chiefest aime of

Your Maj. most obedient, most faithfull
and most humble subject and servant,

ALEX. DURHAM.

Amsterdam, the 3 of Nov 1654.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

6.

Paris, 6 Nov. 1654.

f. 254. I purposed to have writ to *Sir Ed. H[yle]* and *you* both, but because I understand *the Queenes Court* have gott some authority to stop and search *letters*, both into *England and Cologne* (which latter is there aime), having noe address unto *Sir E. H.* but by *his owne name*, I choose to continue my course till that be over or this bussines be at an end, or he give me a name to indorse, and that I may send them soe in your packet, which being by another *name* and directed unto *Antwerp* I beleeve doe escape the searchers. *Mr. Lovell* was a few posts since commanded not to send to *your Court*, and that weeke the letters sent to the post by *Lo. Jermyn* and some others were sent for back. I must intreat you both to pardon the disorder of my stile proceeding from my distempered

mind caused by the subject I *write on*. In earnest, next the murder of my blessed maister I never was in such confusion of thoughts. Besides, being to convey unto you the relation of 3 severall persons with other discourses, I may well loose methode and render my selfe obscure and tedious; but, as neere as I can, I will deliver the words I received and as I received them. 1654.

Be pleased then to know that there came unto me this morning *Dr. Cosens* (whom I pray henceforward place in your cypher for Chichester, as likewise Collogne in the place of Corke) and *Sir G. Rat[cliffe]*, and by and by after *Mr. Lovell* (which name I pray place in your cypher insted of the word Leinster). *Dr. Cosens* told me that upon Wensday night *the Duke of Gloucester* upon his coming to towne tooke an occasion to tell him he would speake with him the next morning in his chamber, whither accordingly he went, and after some generall discourse *the Duke of Gloucester* tooke him aside and complained to him of the great taske he had to undergoe without authorised assistance, for he confessed he had private instruction in writing, but those only to himselfe and commanding him to yeeld obedience to *the Queene* in all things, *Religion* only excepted, that he found thereby shee might dispose of him to any place, remove from him any person, and doe many other things that did reduce him to a sad condition; that att his being at *Mr. Mountagues* he did lett *the Duke of Gloucester* know it concerned him to looke after a subsistance, that *the King* could give him none, and that he might see by the action of leaving him behind, which he told was done partly upon the score of charge; that *the Queene* had but little and it was not fitt to expect shee should spare of that unto him unless he would turne *Papist*, that thereby he might helpe *the King* by working upon *Papist Princes*; that all Protestant Princes had deserted *the King*, as *Holland, Denmarke, Sweade, Helvetia, the French Huguenotes*, etc. *The Duke of Gloucester* said he replied he should thereby hurt *the King*, in giving occasion to the world to belceve *the King* was consenting

1654. ether out of iudgement or for want of sense of conscience. *Mr. Mountague* said that need not be, for *the King and his Councell* might make shewes of unwillingnes, when it was to late; and, that he might not feare displeasure that way, told him noe reasonable person could think that *the King and his Councell* could suppose *the Queene* would not endeavor it, when *the Duke of Gloucester* was lefft with her and noe person of note sett over him. And whereas *the Duke of Gloucester* objected his mothers promise, *Mr. Mountague* said it was only that shee would not force him. And heere came in *Mr. Mountague* and interrupted their discourse; and coming boldly up to *the Duke of Gloucester* he told him the orders were given that by such an houre he should be ready to goe with *Mr. Mountague* to the *King of France*. He reproved him that he had not sent for his barber, injoynd him to doe it, and directed how short his haire should be cutt. At the houre appointed they, together with *the Queen*, went to the *French court*, where the first word was *the Quene Regents* question unto *the Queene of England* whether *the Duke of Gloucester* were absolutely turned. *The Queene* answered, "Non pas encore." Nether did *the King of France* or *the Queene Regent* or the *Cardinall* say one word to *the Duke of Gloucester*, as one present assures. I had forgott that *the Duke of Gloucester* sayes in *Mr. Mountagues* first address unto *the Duke of Gloucester* before mentioned he told him that in seeking his conversion he wraught against himselfe, for that he wanted not his great hopes both in *France* and at *Rome*, but that upon *the Duke of Gloucester* rendring himselfe a *Papist* all the preferments of those two places would be poured on *the Duke of Gloucester*. After this foregoing relation *Sir G. Rattelif* began and told me he had spoke with *the Duke of Gloucester* (and, if I be not exceedingly mistaken, the other heere with me to-day were present when *Sir G. Rattelif* spake); he told him that by the lawes of *England* who ever was bread in a *Jesuites* colledge as a *papist* forfeited all titles to successdom in *England*, that who ever was reconciled to

the church of Rome was a traitor *unto the King*. He told him Regall authority was above maternall and that the King was his soveraigne, to whose private instruction he owed obedience. To this *the Duke of Gloucester* consented and said that, not only *the King* had given him strict instructions in point of Religion, but likewise his father had charged him nether to be Papist nor Puritain, which he yet remembred. But he complained of his being left to this contest without assistance and called to mind how faine he would have gone the iorney and then this had not befallen him. And heere came in *Mr. Lovell*, as if he had bin behind the hanging to enter when the others had done, and with very great passion related that *Mr. Mountague* at his house began with him to persuade him to consent to their designe, but he very firmly resisted, whereupon at his coming now to towne *the Queene of England* sent for him, told him shee had understood his aversnes to her designes, that shee was resolved to proceed and therefore advised him to withdraw himselfe from *the Duke of Gloucester*. He told her being placed there by *the King* he durst not withdraw himselfe, but begged her leave to acquaint *the King*. Shee said that would take up to much tyme; and heere entred *Mr. Mountague*, who (*the Queene of England* telling him what had passed) said he wondred at that persons obstinacy not to obey *the Queene* in her owne house, and asked him what comission he had under *the Kings* hand. *Mr. Lovell* telling him he thought it reasonable to insist upon the *Kings* pleasure signified by himselfe, *Mr. Mountague* asked to what end that served, saying that, if *the King* should signifie his pleasure in this bussines contrary unto *the Queenes* designe, it would availle nothing and was not to be obeid, but shee to be obeid in her owne house, and told him he stood upon termes like a man put into a fort or garrison by *the King*, but it should availle him nothing, for they would proceed in their designe without any consideration to what should be sent them from elsewhere. This day *Mr. Lovell* expects [h]is absolute dismissal, and *Mr.*

1654 *Mountague* sayes openly he is to be governor unto *the Duke of Gloucester*. There hath been some overture unto *Mr. Lovell* that he should have a pension from the French court. My opinion was he should take from *the Queene* what is due to him and the continuance of his present stipend, if they will pay it him, but by noe means accept any thing from the French court nor vary his stipend if he can avoid it, but I find him neere resolved to take what they will give him from any hand, and thinkes he may place it as a reward for his former services unto *the Duke of Gloucester*. I am confident *the Duke of Gloucester* never was soe great a Prisoner at Caresbrooke as he shallbe now in *the Quenes court*, if your court doe not rescue him. For God sake bestirr yourselves and be confident your designes are lost for *England*, if this goe on; and on the contrary, if you can rescu this sweet *Duke*, who longs for it, you will doe *the King* the greatest service that hath yet bin done him. And if the hazard of my life and the neerest unto me can contribute towards itt, wee will freely lay them downe. I pray lett your designes be speedy and secret in resolution, and take heed whom you trust in itt.

That you may know how much you ought to be wary of this place, know that not long since *the Queene* did openly read a letter of *the Kings* to her, wherein he writ her word what excellent designes he had in *England* and how prosperously they went on. This was handed by halfe a dozen untill it came over the water, and I traced it back to the first authors, who avowed with the jeeres and scornes cast upon that letter and the hopes in itt. Doubt not but this is gone into *England*, for I partly know itt. *Lord Jernyn* hath lustily fourbed *the Queene* of all her jewells since *the King* went hence—it were to long or else I could have set down the severall fourberies for each severall jewell—and hath purchased a great house and lands neere to this place, intends to be naturalized heere, and did openly consult *Mr. Mountague* whether it were not fitt *the Duke of Gloucester* should be naturalized to enable him to hold preferments heere in *France*. In truth, the discourses

of *Lord Jermyn* and your frend *Sir Jo. Berkeley* with *Sir Ed. Herbert* and *Lord Gerrard* are unsufferable concerning the *Kings* person and affaires, and none can exceed them but the *Duke of Buckingham*. Boswell is expected heere with your favorite my Lord *Bellcarris*; and the *Duke of Gloucester* being asked whether he would receave him said it is not left to his power. I had lately a hot contest with a frend of *Sir Jo. Berkeley* concerning you [and] *Sir E. H[yde]*, and was told that my frend had brought the *Duke of Gloucester* into this snare by leaving him heere, and that my frend, naming *Sir E. H[yde]*, had destroyed the *Duke of Yorke* and the *Kings* bussiness in opposing and breaking the match with *Longuilles* daughter.^a I said I doubted not but I should have bin of my frend *Sir Ed. H.* mind for the *Duke of Gloucester*, had I stood where he did and seene what he saw, though perhaps, as I was not rightly informed, I might thinke or wish it had bin otherwise, especially since the ill event; and for the match, though I did not know whether *Sir E. H.* knew of it, yet I knew soe much of itt as to assure them he did exceedingly serve the *Duke of Yorke*, if he had any hand in breaking itt and I did beleeve itt a great service to the *King*. Well, besides our dejection wee are exceedingly trampled on by those base persons that, to doe a displeasure to *Sir E. H.* and honest men, would destroy the *King* and his affaires. I pray gett the great vessel from this rock least it split. I dare assure you I never saw soe many drooping spirits and such base insulting as is in this bussiness of the *Duke of Gloucester*. What it is I cannot yet learne, but they resolve, if they carry this, to put home some designe upon the *Duke of Yorke*, and *Sir John Berkeley* and his interest with the *Duke of Yorke* is much cried up by those who know them. Sure I am, wee never gott [good] nor never shall by having unworthy persons about our *Princes*; and yett every day new are admitted for particulars sakes. I would once the Publique had as great interest. Beleeve it, Sir, if the

1654.

^a See vol. i. p. 281.

1654. *Duke of Gloucester* be thus lost, wee are lost; and in vaine it is to dreame of talking men into their witts againe, where soe many sad actions have distracted them. If *the Duke of Yorke* would be secret, me thinkes it were not hard to steale and send away *the Duke of Gloucester* by *Sedun* into *Germany* ere it were perceaved; and, if *the King* shall endure all these affronts and not speake plaine English to *Lord Jermyn*, *Sir Jo. Berkeley*, *Mr. Mountague* and *the Queene*, he will be censured too soft. And, beleeeve me, people will not hazard, if there continue such compliance and tendernes to *the Queenes court*, who discover all is informed them and despise and laugh at all that tends to our good. *The King* hath quit himselfe to God and man for a tender obedient sonne; but he must likewise be our stout and resolute champion and vindicate these affronts to him and his cause. Wee can beare all that can come from him; but to see us totally ruined rather then deale with people according to their deserts, it kills our harts. Never was there such an occasion for him to shew himselfe in his just courage as now. First gaine the prey out of their clawes, and then lett them be taught their duties as eminently as they have affronted. I protest, Sir, I can nether eat nor sleepe till I see resentment and remedy from your court for this Highest Treason. I am in that disorder I never was in. I cannot get to speake with *the Duke of Gloucester*. Be confident, if you cannot steale him away, you will never prevent their plotts, and how few are to be trusted, judge you. I confess, could I have spoken with him, I would have aymed at sending him to you by those should have bin faithfull and thought themselves rewarded with their duty. Be speedy and resolute, and above all secret. Good sir, speed us comfort and directions to comport ourselves, for wee are att a loss. I pray both beleeeve me

Yours unfainedly and eternally,

C. H.

I pray beleeeve I would not have writ what I did concerning

Mr. Seymour, had I not receaved it from a hand I must and will beleeve, and I kept very much within my compas in the repeating. And what may seeme in itt most strange, I dare assure you came out of his owne mouth. I love the gent. well, but, had he bin my sonne, I would have told you the truth. It was to deepe a policy to venture over at that tyme, unless he had bin rack prooffe. 1654.

HEER VAN SOMMELSDIJK.

MONSIEUR,

De la Haye, 10 Novemb. 1654.

. . . . Le Sieur Jongetal nous a rapporté que Cromwel gouverne mieux le Parlement qu'il n'a peu faire les chevaux du carosse qui a failli de le rouer. Mais il m'a asseuré de deux choses qui m'ont desplu, la première que quant cela seroit arrivé, que tout estoit desia préparé à prendre des le lendemain Lambert pour son successeur, et la seconde est que bien que Cromwel est presque en vune generale destestation, que ce n'est pas pourtant par vune affection pour le Roy, mais accause du desir que la pluspart ont d'establiir vune Respublicque et que particulièrement la ville de Londres (selon le naturel des marchands) est principalement possedée de ceste passion. Enfin ce bon seigneur nous a plus entretenu de vos affaires et de l'estat du Traicte de France (qu'il disoit ne tenir, sinon à ce que Cromwel vouloit en l'escript qu'il en reserveroit pour soy signer devant le Roy), qu'il ne s'est estendu sur ce qu'il avoit promis, et s'estoit plainct par ses lettres de ces Compaignions. Mais entre vous et moy, après l'avoir bien sondé et examiné, je n'ay pas trouvé qu'il eust ny la solidité ny la fermeté pour se bien acquitter de sa commission ou pour se bien prendre et bien estaler et faire valoir ce qu'il pourroit alleguer pour confondre ces adjoincts. f. 258b.

.
 Vostre treshumble, et tresobeissant serviteur,
 C. D'ÆRSSEN DE SOMMELSDYCK.

1654.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

7.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1654.

f. 260.

I beseech you pardon me if I be still soe full of *the Du. of Gloucesters busines* that I am not able to bend my thoughts to any other thing. He is gon out of towne again and, whereas he was promised returne as on this day, it is now put off and his new servant (or rather compaignon) *Mr. Wallsingham* placed about him by *Watt. Mountague* is come to propose longer tyme for *the Duke of Gloucesters* stay with *Watt. Mountague*. The chambers in the *Jesuits Colledge* are ready, and some cures did on Wensday last (St. Martins day) in their praiers exhort the people to give God thanks for the *conversion of the Duke of Gloucester*. Before his last goeing he did produce his pocket instructions and shew them to *the Queene*. To that part which mentions her promise not to indeavor his change, *the Queene* utterly denies any such promise; and to the other, that exhorts him not to heare any speake to him of that subject, shee said shee never heard of itt, and counts it unreasonable and will not yeeld to itt. Shee kept the Instructions a night and then delivered them unto *the Duke of Gloucester* upon his demand. As for *Mr. Lovell*, he knew of these intentions att the first being att *Mr. Mountagues*; nevertheless he acquainted none of us heere with itt att what tyme as he came singly to towne. He acknowledgeth att that tyme he treated with them for a pension and soe to goe into Italy and presently quit *the Duke of Gloucester*. He there admitted discourses of *Religion* to be made unto *the Duke of Gloucester*, as himselfe saith. though he knew what instructions were in *the Duke of Gloucesters* pocket. He is now only bussy to scrue up his pension by *Lord Percy*, by whom he hath guided himselfe, and he hath gott an order to be this day paid *two pounds*. He layes the full load (and I hope more then the due load) upon *the Kings Councillors*. I speake what I heare with my owne eares. He says *the Duke of Gloucester* cries out it

is they have brought him to this ruine. And I have it from good 1654.
hands that it is the clamour of *Lord Jermyn, Lord Percy, Sir Ed.
Herbert, and Sir Jo. Berkeley.* And *the Duke of Yorke* is doubt-
less kept out of towne till the worke be finished. All eyes are
fixed upon *the King*, to gaze after the resolutions shall thence come.
And truly I feare, unless they be very secret and resolutely exe-
cuted, the prey will be lost. The language is strange that is now
in the *English Papist* mouthes of *Henry the ninth.* I know a
person of credit who heard *Mr. Mountague* say that he should dis-
suade all catholick *Kings and Princes* from helping *the King* unless
he would become *Papist.* And there being lately a booke for
monarchy to be presented to the French court by his hands, he
said it was a flatering subiect and that what of late yeeres was said
for monarchy was false and he was more for the peoples rights now
resented. This is certaine. *Lord Jermyn* being spoke unto in *the
Duke of Gloucesters busines*, and representing to him the hurt this
would doe at this tyme unto *the Kings affaires*, replied he thought
indeed it would ruine *the Kings affaires*, but said the world must
know it was the fault of *the Kings Councillors*, who tooke noe care
to secure *the Duke of Gloucester.* *Mr. Lovell* sayes he had never
noe thing said to him to authorise his care but the contrary, for he
sayes he was only told he was recommended to *the Queene*, soe as
he had reason to please there, and indeed shew[s] much indiscretion
in his tongue. I will not repeat all.

The Queene was a while discontented with *the Princesse
Royal*, put now they say all is well, for the *Queene* hath
receaved such assurances from the *Lady Standhop and her
husband*, and that nothing shall pass there to the prejudice
of *the Queene* and *Lord Jermyns* wills and pleasures there and
have made such excuses for what may seeme to have crossd
their wills that they are now well pleased with *the Princesse
Royalls* councillors. I pray God send you once sensible of knaves
in *your Court*, for till then wee shall not thrive. I am quite
dejected that att the moment I promised my selfe greatest prosperity

1654. by the remove hence there hath now befallen us the greatest mischiefe could have hapned. There is a very strong report that the *English Rebels* have demanded the expulsion out of this kingdome of the *Queene*, her children and some others by name. And it was noted in the *French Councells* that nether *Lo. Jermyn*, *Lo. Percy*, *Du. Buckingham* nor *Sir Jo. Berkeley* were mentioned in the list. This I have from a good hand; yett I am not so confident till it be confirmed. *Lo. Percy* cries out loud on the *Duke of Gloucesters* *busines* and exclames with broad speeches and is retired out of towne and, as he sayes, out of dislike of this action, which he hath noe power to crosse. *Mr. Lovell* tells every body he did advertise the *Kings Court* timely enough to have had an account of itt by this tyme, but certaine it is he shewes all his letters to the *Queene* and writes none without her leave and approbation, as himselfe told me. I have stayed till the last moment of the Post in hopes to have writ of the *Duke of Yorkes* and *Duke of Gloucesters* arrivall and the success, but, nether coming, I must end when I have beseeched you I may know not only how the *Duke of Gloucesters* bussines is relished with you there, but whether likewise there be any speedy remedy applied, for all eyes are upon your court. And I feare our friends are very staggering till remedy in this point confirme them.

Yours eternally,
S. S.

COL. ALEX. DURHAM.

RT. HONOURABLE,

Am[sterdam], the 16 of Nov^r, 1654.

f. 262.

. I received your last the 13 of Nov^r from Coolen and sent your inclosed to Inkhusen to C[ol.] B[lagge], who went ther on Munday was eight dayse. We know not if they have yet made saile. I question not but so soon as they are ready (if not yet gon)

he will acquaint your selfe be the poast. I heare he did wreat to you, as if I had discouraged him in the voyage by telling him the L[ieut.] G[en.] was retired only with 4 or 5 men. If thinges may be taken as by contraries, he hathe certainly ther meand so; for, as I told you in my former letters, his feares wer almost so great, turning to dispaire, som having informed him ther wer severall garrisons in Strathnaver. I tooke much paines to lessen all his doubttes and brocht those who certified him the contrare, ther were non in those parts at all, having lykwise assured him at our first meeting (when he himselfe told me y^e of the L. G. retiring) that he had still with him 7 or 8 hundred men that had not boued the knee to Baall. This makes me wonder he should put that on me, the thing of all others I was least guilty of. I mak no question but Lt. Col. Ramsay is with you befor this, who, tho he be not ane expresse, I am confident will give you all much satisfaction in relation to our freinds carriage with Glencairne. . . .

Your most obedient fat^h servant,

AL. DURHAM.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO M^r S. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

17 Nov., N. S.

Indeed yours of the $\frac{20}{10}$ of October tells us a sad Story, and albeit I am not at all surprised with it, having from the first time that sweet D. of Gloucester was sent for into France believed that this was the design and that his being perverted in his Religion would be the issue of that journey, yet I assure you all that love the K.'s person and his interest (setting aside the scandal that will necessarily bring to our profession of Religion) cannot but be struck with extreme sorrow for it. And by this you may see what it is for the K. to be swayed by private counsels contrary to

Add. 4180.
f. 157.

1654. the advice of his sworn Privy Council; for these were (as they at least tell me) absolutely against the D. of Gloucester's going into France, and more against his being left behind the K., which indeed was too great an adventure to be so desperately hazarded. For my part I believe that unhappy business is by this time too far proceeded to be prevented; and that it is so laid by the craft of the Jesuits as it will not be possible to hinder their design in it, which can be no less than to ruin the K. and D. of York. . . . I may tell you my fears are that Mr. Lovel himself is a little wavering; for, me thinks, he answered the Queen very faintly, when she first told him of her intention to endeavour to pervert the D. of Gloucester in the profession of his Religion, and he made no hast to acquaint the K. with it, and writes that he intends to go into Italy and even to Rome. My chief hope is that it will not be very easy for your cosen Wat. Montagu or the Queen to prevail with the D. of Gloucester, who hath an excellent spirit, and I hope will be mindfull of his blessed father's last words to him—upon no persuasions to alter the profession of his Religion.

I have even now received your 6th of the 6th of this month and have acquainted the K. with the contents of it, who saith he will leave nothing undone on his part that may rescue the D. of Gloucester from the designs of those that endeavour to pervert him in his Religion,^a and is much joyed to hear that the D. of Gloucester behaves himself so stoutly in refusing to swerve from the commands he received from his blessed father and himself, and takes exceeding well the care that the good Dean Cosins hath had therein.

^a For the King's letters on the subject to his mother, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and Lord Jermyn, with his instructions to Ormonde to proceed to Paris to fetch the Duke of Gloucester, all dated on 10 Nov., see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. pp. 419-422.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

1654.

Rt. Ho^{ble},Paris, 20 9^{bris}, 1654.

Yesterday I received a letter from my lo. Lieutenant dated at Cullen the 10th of this moneth, and therein one from his Matie to y^e D. of Glocester, which I was commanded to deliver with myne owne handes. Presently upon the receipt whereof I hasted to Poinoise, where his Highnes has bene kept (much against his will) now all most a fortnight. I could not get to speake with him alone, but either Mr. Walsingham or Dr. Pue was by. Mr. Montague upon my cominge was goeing in hast to our Queene. The Duke (into whose hands I gott y^e letter put by the helpe of Mr. Griffin, who attends him) was exceedingly pleased with his Majesties expressions, which though the watchfulnes of those men set about him would not suffer him to tell mee, yet he sent mee worde of it by Mr. Griffin with all assurances imaginable of his constant obedience both to y^e commands of his Majestic his brother and to y^e charge of the Kinge his father; which he constantly mentions upon all occasions. Truly, Sir, I have admired his temper and discretion, his great civilityes handsomely expressed to y^e Queene his mother, and yet with all his close adherence to what the martyr Kinge and the Kinge his brother have enjoyned him. So as I verily believe that God Almighty hath and doeth and will extraordinarily assist him. He sayeth that he is much more confirmed in his religion by the arguments and carriage of these men towards him. I am not able to remember a world of particulers, though any of them never to be forgotten. Nor have I tyme to write so fully as I had begun in a letter intended for my lo. Lieutenant, which his Lordships unexpected arrivall here this night has broken of; and y^e care to provide for his present accommodation has straitned my tyme, so as I can scarce give you this broken imperfect accompt before the post must have my letter. I leaft at Pontoise Sir Jo. Berkeley and Mr. Crofts. They tould mee that this day

Ms. 2534,
f. 265.

1654. was appointed for y^e Queene to carry the D[uke] to Clermont (the Jesuits colledge) and leave him there, though he should not consent. They had given diverse reasons to y^e Queene against it and prevailed so farre as that her Majestie was content to heare Mr. Montague againe before shee did it. Therefore they sent Mr. Montague to y^e Queene, and what y^e event of his conference wilbe I cannot yet tell. Mr. Montague is still of opinion that y^e D. should be with the Jesuits, notwithstanding anythinge that Sir J. Berkeley or Mr. Crofts could say. What the Queenes speakinge to him may worke with him wee shall learne, as soone as I can. Mr. Montague seemes (by severall passages) not to weigh much y^e Kinges authority or desires; and it is probable that he may expect for himselfe great matters, if he can effect this great service for y^e church of Rome. I thinke that this is one of y^e greatest actions now on foot in Christendome, wherein all y^e Protestants of all contries will thinke themselves concerned, besides the pernicious influence that it may have upon ye Kinges present affaires. It is a very great comfort to y^e Kinges faithfull servants and well-wishers to see how sensible his Majestie is of it. And this sendinge of my Lo. of Ormond about it will questionlesse doe the Kinge a great deale of right. I have found a good inclination in y^e Duke of Gloucester towards Will. Brien,^a my lord Inchiquins sonne. The D. desires his company and trusts him; and therefore both Mr. Lovell and I have made use of him to convey by him such advices as wee thought useful to his Highnes and by his meanes to heare often from y^e D. I beseech you, Sir, get mee leave from his Majestie to let him know that this service is acceptable to y^e Kinge. There may be use of him in this kinde hereafter.

The Duke of Yorke came hither on Wedensday night. My journey to Pontoise kept me from y^e happines to see him yet. I heare he is much concerned in this busines; he writ a very good letter to his brother about it. There wilbe need of all helps; for the Jesuits doubtlesse have engaged not our Queene

^a William O'Brien, who succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Inchiquin in 1674.

onely, but the Court of France also, and all their owne wit and power to gaine this Prince. 1654.

Be pleased to present my most bounden duety to his Majestie and to acquaint him with as much of this hasty imperfect story as you shall thinke fit. . . .

Your H. most humble servant,
GEO. RADCLIFFE.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

8.

Paris, 27 Nov. 1654, st. no.

After my last letter to you things looked with soe ugly a face in *the Duke of Gloucesters* busines that my duty to the King cbliged me to sett aside all feare of the *Englishe* and *Queen of Englands* court, and, though I had not stirred out of many weekes before, to adventure not only my selfe but my sonne to *Pontoise* and tooke likewise my cosen with me (whom *Sir E. Hyde* knowes). And that I might be sure to sound *the Duke of Gloucester* and to confirme him, I gave my companions their parts, soe as, if any of us found an opportunity, wee might take itt. Wee found him besett close with *Walter Montague*, his priest chaplaine, but principally with your deere frend *Walsingham*; yett by the ingenious inventions of the *Duke of Gloucester* and our industry wee found meanes to speake to him every one in our turnes, and came away abundantly satisfied with the courage and constancy wee perceaved in *the Duke of Gloucester*. And surely, Sir, infinit much is due to *the Duke of Gloucesters* owne carriage, which hath bin gallant even to our wishes. I strooke at the root, and spent my tyme only to confute *Walter Montagues* great maxime that *the Duke of Gloucester* owed more duty to the *Queene* then unto the *King*. And truly *the Duke of Gloucester* was as firme of my beleefe as I could wish him and gave me his word I should find his practice accordingly. He seemed overjoyed to see us and bemoaned the

1654. small assistance he had from any to rescue him. I assured him he should find within few dayes that *the King* would take it to hart, and that it was then impossible to have heard from *the King* since he was first informed of the newes. At some better leasure I will acquaint you with the insolent discourses held by *Walsingham*, who spared none of you there or any loyall person elsewhere, who told *the Duke of Gloucester* that he was a confident to his blessed father even above his *Councell*, and that *Lo. Digby* was soe much the ablest *Councell* to *the King* that it was paine to him, as he often told him, to come to *Councell* to heare the rest utter their importinencies, and that this *Lo. Digby*, as he had allwayes told him he preferred the Romish before the English church, had now put himselfe into a *Jesuites* colledge, where he had declared himselfe a *Papist*. A quire of paper would not serve to present you each part played there.

Att my coming back came to me two severall persons to tell me *Sir G. Ratcliff* had a letter from *the King* to deliver unto *the Duke of Gloucester* and not long after he came to me to aske advice. I told him there needed little advise, for his commands were very cleere and, if he feared, I would take the letter and goe back and deliver it. At last he resolved to goe, but soe loath was he to displease heere that he gave the letter unto *the Duke of Gloucesters* servant to give him and would not deliver it with his owne hand. And at his coming back he told me he had made use of *Lord Percy* to discover *the Queen of Englands* opinion of his jorney, which when shee expressed to take highly ill from *Sir Geo. Ratcliff* and *Lord Hatton*, as *Sir G. R.* told me, *Lo. Percy* replied that *Sir Ge. R.* had *the Kings* command for it, but it appeared not *Lord Hatton* had soe. Truly I thinke *Sir G. Ratcliffe* is very right in this bussines, but without doubt [h]is vanity in blabbing and feare to offend heere is able to spoile all his honest endeavors. Att the moment of tyme I thought they would send *the Duke of Gloucester* to the Colledge heere I gott one to speake with *Lord Jermyn* and in my name to lay it very home to him. He made shewes enough of religion to cosen my frend but not me,

and hath since this bussines bin twice at Charenton and out of his cource receaved the sacrament with us, all which makes me think him the deeper in the plott. But as to the bussines he stand[s] stifly to it that he forewarnd the *Councell*, when first he was sent for from Holland, and undertooke to satisfye *the Queene*, that the *the Queene* did not now press the stay of *the Duke of Gloucester*, that it was proposed to her as a thing should be done if shee desired. As for *Mr. Lovell*, he is certainly inexcusable in admitting discources and disputes of *Religion* to and before *the Duke of Gloucester* directly opposit unto *the Kings* commands, in offering to desert and to goe into *Italy*, nay to *Rome*, and to agree of his summes and pensions before he had acquainted any loyall person heere, and then to delay his letters to *the King* when I offered to convey them or say any thing in his name. I thinke he may be firme in his religion, but for his indiscretion and unfitness for that imployment, doubtles it appeares too much. Besides his discources are very prejudiciall to the King and his counsellors upon the point of *Duke of Gloucester* being left behind. It is heere much lamented that *the Duke of Yorke* doth noe signall thing in this bussines, and the whole towne take notice of *Sir John Berkeleys* influence to hinder the operation of his stoutnes and backing *the Kings* commands in this bussines. To color which they have gott *the Queen* to forbid *the Duke of Yorke* to speake unto *the Duke of Gloucester* save in the presence of *the Queene*. Rest confident, I have it from good hands that *Lord Jermyn*, *Lord Percy* and *Sir John Berkley* were drawne into this plott by *Walter Montague* upon the score of the great church revenue should be heaped upon *the Duke of Gloucester*, whereof they should have their shares and he kept like a schoole boy. Good Sir, move *the King* that his approbation of *Duke of Gloucesters* carriadge may be highly signified unto him for his encouragement and lett *the Duke of Yorke* be quickned.

As for the letter wherein you say I am misinformed, it may be soe farr a mistake as that it was not *the King* but that the

1654. Lady Denbigh and Madame Vantlet may mistake; but confident they are that such a letter was mentioned from the court, and, beleeve me, very strange stuff comes from your court in weekly letters, which I am sorry to see. I make great question whether the packet to Percy weekly sent will now come safe, for notice begins to be taken of itt and he exeeding timereous. I dare aunswear for his integrity, but not for his feare or discretion. I should not advise things of moment that way, which for many reasons I advertise, and think in soe doing I doe my duty. Yours comes safe and is assured soe to doe, since it comes not into the bussie hands heere. Those which passe to him goe through the hands of a new convert, who indeed are much concerned in this great conversion. Sir, I have receaved some commands from the *King* by *Lord Ormond*. I beseech you lett *his Majestie* know that they shall be obeid to the utmost, and what I want in abilities I will make up in fidelity. I pray be caution for me that noe consideration of life or fortune shall hinder me, nor, I thank God, mine; for truly it is not the least of my comforts that my sonne comes not short of my zeale to serve *his Majestie*. I have bin soe long with *the Marquis of Ormond* in order to *the Kings* service that it is now six at night and I have not tyme to read over what I have writ nor to adde any more then that I am,

Sir, very faithfully,

Your owne.

. . . . *Walter Montague* doth proceed to speeke very slitly of the *Kings* comands, as one just now tells me from *the Duke of Gloucester*, but *the D. of Gloucester* is intirely submiss[ive] to those commands.

Paris, 27 Nov.

. . . . I forgott in mine of this day to propose that I might have some warrant from his Majesty that might imply all those commands

he hath given me by my Lo. Or[monde] in the bussines in hand. 1654.
 I pray thinke of it, for I doe not desire it before hand; after will
 serve my turne to plead, if I be heere prosecuted for what I may
 perhaps doe.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.^a

RIGHT HONORABLE.

Teyling, $\frac{20}{20}$ Novemb. 1654.

. . . . Of affaires in Scotland wee have no advertisement but, £275.
 what comes from you, nor doe wee know any thing of that Mr.
 Carr who is said to be sent by the Chancellor of Scotland. That
 speech you mention of Col. Spicot's, Mr. Chancelor sent to my Lady
 Stanhop, who hath shewed it to us; but if such a speech as that
 have been publickly uttered, me thinks it is so strange that both
 Cromwell and the speaker should so long outlive it.

I am heartely glade to heare of the *sweete castle of Gloucesters*
constancy. I assure you the *Princesse Royall* is much troubled for
 what hath been *don in that* and condemns freely *all that have had*
a hand in it. Lord Jernyn *purgeth* himself mainly, as Lord
Culpeper hath assured the *Lady of this house* and *she her mistris*.
 Wee heard, as I formerly writt, that *all differences in Overysel* were
composed, which report came by reason that *Count William* was
admitted into the towne Councell of Decenter, which is the most
disaffected of all others, which is a thing not usually graunted to
 any but the *Statholder*; and thereupon it was *beleeved a businsse*
concluded, but some *burgomasters of that towne* of the *Hollands*
faction still *oblige*. Yet it is hoped that *Count William* ere long will
prevaille. I beleeve the *Princesse Royall* now finds her error that
 she was made instrumentall to hinder the *good designses of Zealand*
 for the *Prince of Orange*, which if then prosecuted might in all
 appearance have prevented much of the ruine that is come

^a Chamberlain to the Princess of Orange.

1654. *upon us.* Wee hear nothing yet of the Queen of Bohemia's returne, which some doute of, though I beleeeve without cause. . . .

Your most affectionat humble servant,

270, 650, 349, 228.

Endorsed by Nicholas: Sir Alex. Hume.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MARQUIS OF ORMOND.

1 Dec., N.S.

Add. 4180,
f. 128.

I hope your Ldp. got timely and safe to Paris. Sunday last there arrived here Capt. Mewes (a very honest and discrete English Gentleman), being sent expressly by Lt. Gen. Middleton to give his Majesty an account of his affairs in Scotland. He left the Lt. Gen. the 8th of October at a place called Achalader, he having then with him 700 men.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

HONBLE SIR,

Bruxells, Monday, 6th December, 54.

Ms. 2534,
f. 278.

. . . . Yours of the 3 of december came to my handes at the writinge hereof. I conearre with your opinion that either the Spaniardes hope to procure a peace with Cromwell or are deluded by the Levellers to expeete an alteracion to be made in England by there party. In the interim, for any man to thinke to alter the Spanish resolucions here is a greate folly. Rome and Spaine are the places must be applied unto; these are a people must follow there orders, though right applicacions made to Donn Alonso^a may perhappes induce good orders from Spaine. I am confident, if his Majesty could by any meanes procure his reception here, though incognito, to converse with the Ministers here, His Majesty would do moer for himselfe then all the persons in the world besides are able to do.

^a Don Alonso de Cardenas, Spanish ambassador at London.

But to come hither and not to speake with the Ministers here, I know noe farther use of that then that Cromwell upon that jealousy may make a peace soner with these here. I am afrayd these Ministers here dares not admit of discourse with our Kinge in these countries yet a while. His Majesty must have at least a monthes patience untill they se what they can do without him, or what there quene produces or what the pope can procure about the generall peace. If once they call in our Kinge, it shall be the fault if they make not the greatest leagues with him that ever yet was betwene two nations, and put the greatest oblegacions upon him that ever prince in his condicion received; but they will try other waies first before this. Yow will have heard that the designe of Perone is given over and the governour agreed with the French. It is confidently reported here that the French Kinge hath ratified the articles betwene him and the greatest rebbell that ever was, Cromwell. I hope God will send such another in his kingdome. I cannot imagine why our Quene should desire to se hir daughter the Princesse Royall in France at this time. I could wishe it were to be wife to the Duke of Savoy; for the Cardinalls neice is a most proper wife for the Kinge of France, that there may be a cofraternity betwene Cromwell, Mazarin, and the French Kinge. . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Teyling, 7 Dec. st. no., 1654.

. I give you many humble thanks for your favour in imparting to me so at large the relation of Captain Mewes, which gives me yet hope our friend Middleton will keep life in the King's affaires in that poor Kingdom untill it may please God to review and strengthen them by some more powerfull meanes, which I

1654. beseech him wee may speedely see. I hope my Lord of Rochester hath brought that with him which may enable his Majestie to send vigorous supplies of armes and ammunition to the Lt. Generall, who I am confident will give a good accompt of himself and whatsoever shall be comitted to his charge. The next day after I understand by your letter that Col. Blagge was turnd back again, he came hither with my cuntrieman Mr. Knox^a just as wee were sett to dinner, whereof I intreated him to take a part, but he excused himself that he was in haste and had no minde to eate and so went to finde the Princesse, with whom he had no very long discourse, for he was gone before we were risen from table. Some litle discourse I had with Knox, of whom I could understand no other reason of their turning back, but that they were informed all the coasts were besett with English ships, which I thought somewhat strange in this season. Knox told me that Blagg was to repair forthwith to the King and he himself to stay in Holland untill he should hear from Blagge what new orders he receives. Sure when my Lord Balcarres heares that his friends journey hath had no better speed, he will think the care he took to sollicite his dispatch hath bene to small purpose. From France the Princesse had no letters by the last post. But some others had, who tell us the Duke of Gloucester is comed away from Pontoise and hath resolutely declared his firme purpose to continew unchangeable in his religion, as well because he is satisfyed in his judgement it is the best, as for obedience to the last command of the King his father. 224,^b who was lately here with the French Ambassador, addes that he hath been with my Lord Lieutenant at the French protestant church at Charenton and made a publick declaration of his constant resolution

^a Henry Knox, sent by Balcarres to Scotland as his agent. See his instructions, dat. 7 Nov., in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 389. He was perhaps the "little Scotch vicar . . . one Mr. Knox" mentioned by Hyde (*Hist.* v. p. 261) as having come to Paris with Middleton in 1652.

^b Probably a mistake for 244, *i. e.* Lord Gerard.

to maintain the religion he hath been bred in; but this I have heard contradicted by some others, who say he was only at the English congregation. 224 said also that Mr. Lovel was returned to him, but Doctor Morley tells me that he doeth [not] yet hear that. By my last I told you that *Lord Culpeper* hath assured some he hath spoke with that *Lord Jermyn* had no hand in that designe of changing the Duke. But now it is further affirmed that *the Queene* also disclaimes it, which I doe not find that *the Princess Royall* gives much faith to. But the truth of all will certainly be known by *Lord Ormond*. For Boswell, I forgotte to let you know that he came here from Amsterdam one afternoon somewhat late, her highnesse being above in her chamber, who being resolved not to see him, yet being unwilling to put a publick affront upon him sent for Doctor Broun and commanded him to go privately to him and tell him as a friend that he wondered much that being forbid the King's court he should offer to come where the *Princesse* [was], who he was confident would not see him, and therefore advised him to withdraw himself, which he did forthwith, and since wee have not heard of him. . . .

I am not a litle amazed to hear that *Sec. Nicholas* is so much a stranger to *all advertisements that comes from our Court*, that correspondence being wholly managed by *Dan. O'Neile* and *Mr. Chancellor*, with whom I beleevved your interest to be such as he had nothing secret from you. I should be very sory that it were otherwayes betweene you, and, if it be, I am confident it is no fault of yours and will hope there is no such thing. Yet I thought it somewhat strange that your letters and his come allways under severall covers, which hath made me of late address mync in like manner, wherein I would be glade to know your minde if I shall continue so or not. . . .

Your most affectionat and humble Servant,

A. HUME.

1654.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

To MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON]

8 Dec., N.S.

Add. 4180,
f.128b.

The K. sensible of his singular care in the business concerning the D. of Gloucester. My Lord of Ormond will so fully acquaint Ld. Hatton with his Majesty's orders and directions in all that concerns this business as I shall say no more.

I hope neither your Cousen Wat. Montagu nor that busy instrument of the Jesuits Walsingham shall be permitted to discourse any more with or to be near the D. of Gloucester.

I may tell you this wild Queen of Swede extolls beyond measure the pr. of Condé and Cromwell, and speaks very slightly both of our blessed Master that is with God and of the K., whose shoes she is not worthy to tie.

The E. of Rochester is now come from Germany, having in his late negotiation done his Majesty very good service.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

MR. SECRETARY.

Paris, 11 Dec., 1654.

..... On the 17th of this month the Duke of Gloucester purposes to begin his journey, which, as the season is, will last him till New yeares day at least. The Quene his mother continues her severity to him, neither admitting him to her presence nor receiving any letters from him, though hee have with much dutyfullnes desired both. Since his remove to my Lord Hattons, his Highnes is often visited by his brother the Duke of Yorke and his family, as hee is by divers French. The sober men of them, as I am tould, approve not of the attempt that has bin made upon him, much lesse of the maner of it, wherein Mr Mountagu hath lost ground in their opinions; but it is ordinary when a busines is miscaryed to blame the ways taken to effect it. . . .

Your faithfull servant,

ORMONDE.

Pg. 2534,
f.286.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

10.

Paris, 11 Dec., 1654.

As my little great ghest is the cause I cannot write much, soe is f. 287. he the author of my writing thus much in obedience to his commands to lett your selfe and *Sir Ed. Hyde* know he esteemes you both very honest men and his frends and desires to be remembered to you both. He sayes he knowes you will be active and accompany him at all his sports, but he fears *Sir Ed. Hyde* will be lazy; yet he intends to put him to it, since my Lord Marquis and other Privy Councillers doe dayly exercise with him. He is what his Royall brother his Majesty can wish him and what you both would wish him in his afflictions, and certainly hath most heroically runne through this great worke beyond his yeeres. He hath bin this day vissited by Mons^r Drelincourt,^a one of the Pastors of the congregation of Charenton, who is gon away in much admiration, and his Highnes discourse to him of his blessed father and his Majesties care of his religion hath done the king noe ill service. His Highness intends to sett forward towards Cullen upon Thursday next and his coachman undertakes to carry him to Brussels in 8 dayes. I have bin this day abroad with him and returned but now at 7 at night. I am exceedingly threatened at *the French Court* to be comanded hence when *the Duke of Gloucester* is gone, and, as I am very truly enformed, have had excellent back offices done me by *Mr Crofts*,^b and perhaps he may have the luck to have advantages on me in *the Kings Court*. I feare not what can be done, and shall glory to have done my duty, whether it be acknowledged or not, nay, though those that doe it not should be rewarded. Whatever reports you may have there had, *Mr Crofts* hath done as ill offices in this bussines as any, *Walter Mountague* excepted. I

^a Charles Drelincourt, pastor at Charenton from 1620 till his death in 1669 (Haag, *La France Protestante*, 2nd ed., v, col. 484).

^b William Crofts, Gentleman of the Bedchamber (vol. i. p. 295).

1654. must entreat *Sir Ed. Hyde* and *Sec. Nicholas* to consider what comands and authorities is fit for *Lord Hatton* to have, which may warrant his activity in hindring *the Duke of Gloucesters* perversion, in stirring him up and pleading for his obedience to his *Majesties* commands, against listning to seducers or goeing into the *Jesuits* Colledge, of which branches he is guilty, that his injunctions and instructions in these particulars may beare date before his goeing to *Wat. Mountagues house*, which my former letters will tell you, and that they be exceeding earnest and conjuring my care. I shall then desire that upon *the Marquis of Ormondes* [arrival] his *Majestie* would strictly examine him of my carriage and that I may receave his *Majesties* approbation, if by that *Lords* testimony I appeare faultless. And when I have that authority to warrant and that acceptance to approve my actions, I shall not grudge to suffer what may happen. If I have bin too officious, my maisters zeale in this cause, as well as my owne apprehensions, lead me into it. I pray both of you as my choicest frends order and advise what you think fittest to justify me in prudence and duty; and for safety, let it happen as it will. I want noe threats from the *Jesuits* and from *the Queene of Englands Court*. And I assure you I was this day by a good hand (a very good one) advertised that the French court by *Walt. Mountague* and the *Jesuits* care have an eye upon *Lord Hatton*. He can never suffer in a better cause, and will never shun suffring in *the Kings* service. And I pray assure *the King* that *Lord Hatton* shall ever be forwarder to demand from him comands of danger that may advance his service then rewards of profit with my personal safety. If *Sir E. H.* be unsatisfied with me, let me know it, I pray, and he shall not be long soe. I pray preserve me both in the *Kings* good opinion and doe me right in thinking me, what I ever will be,

Yours unfainedly,
S. S

1654.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},Hage, 15 10^{br}, 1654.

f. 289.

. . . . Upon the receite of your 4 10^{br} I went to Mons. Someldike, who tooke your lettre very kindly. I finde he had the relation of the busines of y^e Duke of Gloucester much to the purpose that wee have, and the people here are much pleased with it. I have byn moved that the story of it might be composed from the beginning with the Kings proceedings thereon, and it wilbe here turned into French and Dutch and printed. I think it wilbe of use and desire your directions in it, and, if it be approved, then it wilbe fit the Kings dispatches were inserted, or such of them as are most to the advantage of the busines. In this you please by the next to tell what is most convenyent. They beleieve not here that Blake is gone into the Meditarranean, nor the rest of y^e Spanish newes of the danger the French are in, for they consider you are at Cologne, where the Spanish interest is most esteemed. . . . Beverninck is expected here hourly, and comes with something of confidence as is presumed, though some say he pretends his private affaires. There is a speech here of many tropes discharged by Cr[omwells] consent, but I know nothinge of the particulars. They say that thereon he hath lost much love in the army. I conjecture by the books that the Parliament have gotten something against his will, as that they will not be restrayned by his negative voyce in any thing but the prolonging of the tyme of sitting beyond six monthes. In the meane tyme the six monthes runn on apace, and after they have ended his power wilbe absolute; and since he cannot bring them to what he will, he is resolved to gett what he cann and worke out the rest by tyme.

I am sorry to understand ye hardnes of the tymes and your particular suffring, and shall much more, if it proceed not of want but the remissnes of such as have power. I still finde y^t there is little hope for such as have lesse pretensions, and therefore I have

1654. layed aside the hope of any good to be done for me, though I should think it much to my advantage if I wer among any number that are cared for, being at present in a base station and not considred as one that had any title to it; for, although I had not the benefit of wayting, yet, if I were reckoned among them that might, there would be hope upon an occasion to move for it. But I shall not presse, only leave it to that disposition that ruleth all things. In that which concerns yourselfe, being now on the place you discerne where the stopp is and whether it be possible to set it aside, and I cannot see if yourselfe judge a possibility that there cann be a good cause for the delay, for all will presume you would not importune where nothing was to be had, and I cann but be silent at it, and I cannot conjecture anything but the crying necessities of the howshould that could hinder the reimbursement of what was layed out by such order as you had. - When I see such animosities among ourselves and so causeles, I cannot wonder at the miscarriage of all affaires, the common enemy being not soe hatefull as wee are to one another, and it must be the greatest of miracles if such hands restore a state from ruyn. But this is a discourse too unpleasant to reflect on, there appearing soe little amendment or hope, though wee here entertayne ourselves with expectacions of sudden action. . . .

I have now gotten the treatise, with which I formerly acquainted you^a, of the reasons of Cr[omwells] government and intend to answere it; which being done it may be translated latyne and printed here, there being a latyne translation of the reasons abroad. I have wiitten to Mr. Ch[ancellor] about it and, if he thinke it fit, shall proceede. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Above, p. 109.

LORD HATTON.

1654.

SIR,

II.

Paris, 18 Dec. 1654.

I have received yours (unnubred) of the 8th of Dec. and f. 293. assure you I have delivered each of yours to *the Marquis of Ormond* with my owne hand. His Lordship comanded me this day, and soe did *the Duke of Gloucester*, that I should by *sec. Nicholas* signify unto *the King* that they are sett forward on their way towards Collogne. They sett forth hence soe lately that they are not yet out of Paris. Very ample passes were granted from the French court, but expressed an aversion to see *the Duke of Gloucester* before his jorney unles he had first bin admitted unto the sight of *the Quene*; and *the Quene* would by noe meanes see him. Certainly his Majesty hath gained soe much honor in the prudent and vigorous carriage of this bussines as that I can scarce wish he had missed the trouble of itt. *The Mar. Ormond* his deportment in this bussines hath bin in every respect like himselfe with exceeding skill and courage. Divers things have concurred to effectuate this great worke. The Dukes extraordinary constancy, resolution and obedience to his soveraigne; the Kings most religious and prudent care; *the Marquis of Ormonds* great dilligence and dexterity. And certainly, Sir, as the beleefe at *the Queenes* court that my Lord of Ormond knew nether how to dispose of the Dukes person nor provide for his jorney made them proceed with that severity towards the Dukes person, soe the oportunity of placing him in a house that might appeare his owne and the provision of money for his decent jorney did soe entrap *Watt Mountague* and his adherents that certainly it did att least facilitate the bussines. And therein I count myselfe exceeding happy that I have had the advantage of an opportunity to inhance my duty. And that I hope will excuse the many weaknesses that accompany itt and the meanes of the entertainment to my Masters Brother that the lownes of my present fortune obliged me unto. My Lord would have considered the expences

1654. heere, but truly my hart could not stoop to it. And I tooke my measures from this dilemma: ether I shall receave great damage out of England and then this plaister would not cure me, or else I shall scape in England and then this expence will not hurt me, who take pleasure to exhaust my selfe for any of that race and shall I trust ever doe soe. For my readines in executing his Majestys commands I referre my selfe unto the relations of *the Duke of Gloucester* and *the Marquis of Ormond*; and, if his Majesty accept my poore endeavors, I shall much rejoyce.

I will take the boldnes by you to recommend unto his Majesty care the placing some such *Governor over the Duke of Gloucester* as may understand the moralls of a *Prince*; and I pray beleieve it is 3 weekes very strict observance that makes me see the difference betwixt a schoolemaster and a *Governor*. And credit me, who have bin in every corner of this bussines, *the Duke of Gloucester* might have paid deere for default of such a person as I wish about him, for it is as certain as that he is now rescued, *Mr. Lovells* voluntary dissertation and more then ordinary compliance (still continued) with *Watt Mountagur, &c.*, was exceeding perilous and hazardous unto *the Duke of Gloucester*. And now he is soe well recovered, it were of more moment then was before resented that his Tutor should use the garbe of his Majesties chapleines and appeare like an English Divine, for wee are not heere beleevd ether by Papist or Puritaine that he is a Churchman. And if he arrive with you there as much in the mode as he is parted hence, he will not be distinguished from Hugh Peeters by his clergy habit. That being reformed and a *Governor* placed over, he may (if he have learning) serve for the booke part. I protest to God it is my duty forceth me to say thus much. And my particular respect to your selfe obligeth me to advertise you he parts hence in perfect correspondence with *the Queene, Lord Jermyn* and *Lord Muskery*.^a And you may beleieve me if you

^a "562"; but again a mistake for "462," i.e. Sir J. Berkeley (see pp. 37, 52).

please, experience will let you see he is of that faction and fierce for *the Duke of Gloucesters* returne hither. I could say much more if it needed, but this may suffice *Liberare animam*.

It hath pleased *Mr. Crofts* to represent unto *the Queene of England* and *the Queene Regent* that the Duke of Gloucester had consented to goe into the Jesuits Colledge, had not *Lord Hatton* dissuaded at such tyme as Marshall Plessis Praulin^a tendred him that proposition heere in my house. Truly he does me to much honor and the Duke to much injustice, for it is well knowne the Duke had given his final deniall ere *Lord Hatton* spoke a word; nor had he spoke at all, had not the Marshall and *Mr. Crofts* extorted it from him. What he said was upon this occasion. The Marshall urged that the wellfare of the Kings bussines or the ruine of his family depended upon the Dukes entring or refusing to enter the Jesuits Colledge. *Lord Hatton* told him the King was prudent and knew the advantages and disadvantages of his game, and, since he adjudged it for his advantage that his brother should not enter there and his brother thought fitt to obey him, I dust averre that his entry there, though but for a small tyme, would be worth an army to Cromwell. And I told him I presumed the court of France and the Religion of Rome would allow of my maxim that Regall Authority was above Paternall. Now it hath blessed *Mr. Crofts* (who lookes to be better esteemed for refusing his house to *the Duke of Gloucester* then *Lord Hatton* for receaving him) to represent me to all disadvantages to the two courts, to the French for advancing Regall above Maternall Authority and to the other for obstructing the Dukes inclinations by what was said of it being worth an Army to Cromwell. And this is soe much now in every mouth in *the Queenes* court and soe often repeated by *her Majestie*, now highly displeased, that I can expect noe other then ill success from *England*, which otherwise

^a François de Choiseul, Marquis du Plessis-Praslin, Maréchal de Camp. For his proposition to the Duke, see Ormonde's letter to the King, 2 Dec. (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii p. 433).

1654. perhaps I might have escaped. By which you may see our ruine that resigne ourselves to the Kings service comes more from those who enjoy the favours they never merited then from the Rebels themselves. I pray God give me more opportunities to serve the King and his brothers, for certainly never was any Kings brother soe slited as this hath bin, nor any Kings person and commands soe contemned as by this caball and contrey. Of this nation he hath not had one vissit, but from Madame Chastillion^a and Mons^r de Turaine. And certainly, Sir, Mons^r Turaine deserves thanks from his Majesty for his gallant counsell to his brother that he should detest all caballs against his brothers counsell and assure himselfe that a perfect union of the 3 brothers joyned with his majestyes counsell would certainly restore his brother, to which he should be ready to contribute his last blood, and was glad he would testify to the world there zeale for the Reformed religion, with many excellent expressions fit for *Lord Muskerys*^b ears, who was casually by. We have newes from England that sayes the Lady Morton^c was abandoned by the Phisitians, and one letter sayes she is dead; that the Earl of Northumberland's daughter^d married unto the Lord Stanhop is dead, that the old Countess of Lindsey^e and Mr Selden^f are dead. The last is a great blow to Sir Edward Herbert, who adored him, and who hath nether seene nor sent unto *the Duke of Gloucester*. Mr Bennet is coming towards you in the dukes company. You send me noe word of the irreconciliable difference

^a Elizabeth Angélique de Montmorency, widow of Gaspard de Coligny, Duke of Châtillon. For a character of her see Mad. de Motteville's *Memoires* (Petitot, 1824, iv. p. 365).

^b "562"; but see note on p. 148.

^c Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers and widow of Robert Douglas, Earl of Morton (d. 1650). She, and not (as stated in the note) her mother, is the Countess of Morton who is mentioned in vol. i. p. 271.

^d Ann, daughter of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl; m. in 1652 to Philip, Lord Stanhope, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield, 1656.

^e Father of Robert Bertie, 1st Earl. See above, p. 113, note.

^f John Selden, who died on 30th Nov.

betwixt *Lord Wentworth* and *Sir Ed. Hyde*, though the towne ring of itt by the last letters. I must confess such things breake my hart and make *the Queenes* court merry ; but it is unavoidable sometimes. I pray God send us once an Amity and all will be well. I wish my selfe often with you and *Sir E. H.* for an houre or two invisible, to recreate my selfe. It is very like as you say ; without evidence ruinous to the giver it will not be beleved that you have writers of strange stuffe hither, but truly I am none of those who to satisfy the incredulity will bring my selfe upon the stage whilst the guilty shall escape. Let it suffice, I writ it to you, who, I thinke, beleve me ; and if my eyes had not seene it, my tongue should not have told it. I will be noe informer in a further way then generall. Wee see many letters heere that you there doe not know whether they were written. It is late, the Duke parting about 3 this afternoone. God bless you, as I wish to your owne

S. S.

 SIR GEO. RADCLIFFE.
RIGHT HO^{ble},Paris, 18 10^{brs}, 1651.

. Now again my Lord Lieutenant commanded mee to give you notice of the D. of Glocesters settinge forth, about two at clocke this afternoone, for Bruxells, and so to Cologne, where I hope you may see them within 14 or 15 dayes. There comes with his R. H^{ties}. my Lo. Lieutenant, Sir George Hamilton, Mr. Henry Bennet and Mr. Lovell, with the rest of the Dukes small family. God speed them well. They have made a great many of glad hearts to see this danger past, as on the other side some say there was never such a slur put upon the Jesuits ; and there is a very great malignity against all those that were thought to have any hand in it. I cannot blame them that desired to gaine this child to their party, for he has great parts, and doubtlesse by Gods blessinge will prove an excellent person

1654. Give me leave to propose unto your judgment, if it were not fit that a full relation of all the passages concerninge this busines of the Duke of Glocester were drawn up, so as it might be preserved in memory and, if need be, communicated to the world. It would doubtlesse doe the Kinge a great deale of right, both in England and abroad, and tende much to the Duke of Glocesters honor. Mr. Lovell with a very little helpe (which yourselfe or my Lord Lieutenant can give him) can doe it fully. . . .

Your honors most humble servant,

GEO. DE COLTON.^a

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

12.

Paris, 25 Dec. 1654.

f. 299.

. The sweet Duke is now this day a full weeke on his journey to you and by intention was to rest this day at Monns. I pray God continue to the brothers that comfort they may now take in one another, for I dare see 3 such are not in any degree of Persons. I must intreat you that when they arrive there with you *Mr. Griffin* may receive the favour from you to know that I have informed you of his discreet and honest carriage about his Master in his late bussines and the due regard he hath had of his Majesties service therein, and that I have entreated you to acquaint his Majesty therewith and to take him into your care and protection. And in earnest I doe it very sincerely and in great justice to him and service to the King. *Mr. Lovell* hath sett him as much out with *the Queene* as may be, and he is threatned hence. Beleeve me, Sir, and I conjure you by our frendship to doe it. *Mr. Lovell* is a very great confident of *the Queene*, *Lord Jermyn*, *Lord Percy*

^a See vol. i. p. 275.

and Sir Jo. Berkley, and is gon with undertakings to effect the Duke of Gloucester hither into France. He is exceeding intimate with Wat. Montague, and Walsingham corresponds and vissits him; 3 dayes he spent in searching out Mr. Crofts to take his leave and was at last forced to intrust (in my hearing). Lord Jermyn with that great affaire. Whilst the Duke of Gloucester was heere Mr. Lovell never missed day at Palais Royall or Challiot. I pray let 582, which was Pembroke, now stand for Palais Royall, and 480, which was Cottington, now stand for Challiot. And those jorneyes were preferred before prayers, which was allwayes last thought on and as much shunned as might be. I pray let 507 that was Garnsey now stand for Mr. Griffin about the Duke of Gloucester; and when you talke with him, he will give you a good account of Mr. Lovell and that he hath touched since his comming over a thousand pounds sterling to his owne use. I would all that have done better service had bin as well paid. Sir, I have writ to the Marquis of Ormond concerning my selfe and have entreated you may be of the secrecy of itt, for I would not have it divulged till it be adjusted and agreed on. By that you shall see the desire I have to see you againe and I shall rest on your affection to promote it. I should have bin glad to have seene this weekes letters from Collogne, since I might therein have seene the sense there of the Duke of Gloucester being heere with Lord Hatton. I shall not need mind you of keeping me in the Kings favor, but I shall entreat you upon all occasions to doe my sonne that favor, for in earnest he is passionately bent to serve him ether actively or passively. He will shortly returne and will omitt noe moment of settling your correspondence there and serve you in all commands you shall lay upon him. . . .

Your owne,
S. S.

1655.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

13.

Paris, 1^o Jan., 1654.

Eg. 2535, f. 1.

I hope by this tyme the sweete Duke of Gloucester is neerer you then us, since wee have bin now (this day) deprived of him a full fortnight to our great sadnes and yet noe small joy, the occasion considered. Beleeve me, Sir, it is now in your hands there to have as great comfort in him or as great trouble as ever was by any such Prince. If you keepe him out of this kingdome, if you educate him well, and above all things give him a good governor or at least change this *tutor*, he will make a gallant man; but, remember I told you, if you lay not hold quickly, you will repent. Certainly *Mr. Lovell* will undermine, as he hath don in that strange action of procuring *the Duke of Gloucester* to testifie in behalfe of his ruiners, *Lord Jermyn, Sir Jo. Berckley, Lord Percy and Watt. Mountague*. Methinkes he should have bin ashamed, since it was impossible *the Duke of Gloucester* could know his friends and foes, being a prisoner all the agitation tyme till *the Marquis of Ormond* arrived, and then hearing *Mr. Crofts* say what he did heere to gaine upon the Duke to goe to the Jesuits colledge. As for *Sir John Berkeley*, he said it often heere that in his judgement it was fitt for *the Duke of Gloucester* to have gone thither and to have turned. But the mistery of all is this: *Sir G. Ratcliffe* came hether of a writing day and told me he was sent from *Lord Jermyn, Sir John Berkeley and Lord Percy* to speake to *Mr. Lovell* to procure *the Duke of Gloucester* to write to *the King* that they had been serviceable to *the Kings* ends and had prevented his going to the Jesuits. I asked him if he thought they had soe done; he told me he knew they had not. I asked how then *the Duke of Gloucester* could soe certifie; he said he might, because *the Duke of Yorke* had certified the like. I asked him how he knew it; he said he was by them employed to *the Duke of Yorke*, and that *the Duke of Yorke*

assured him he had done it for *Lord Jermyn* and *Sir John Berkely*. Hereupon I quit him and went into the *Duke of Gloucester*, where finding *Mr. Lovell*, I told him what I heard would be attempted. I found his color change; but he told me that *the Duke of Yorkes* faint carriage had much inconvenienced *the Duke of Gloucester*, but that sure he was *the Duke of Gloucester* would never doe what was desired. I said, if I thought he inclined to that, I would speake with him and rightly inform him. He told me it needed not, for *the Duke of Gloucester* had allready writt and that *Lord Hatton* was the subject of his letter and not such persons as were proposed. Yet I discovered *the Duke of Gloucester* had not writ, but writ afterwards and after *Mr. Lovell* and *Sir Geo. Ratcliffe* had spoke together with him. Certainly *Mr. Lovell* is the falsest and most flattering person living. Reason he hath to stick to *Lord Percy*, for at his departure he put into *Lord Percys* [hands] 5 or 600 Lewis and one hundred Jacobus. Is not that well for a little curat? I know where 300 went before that. Me thinkes, to have taken 200 pistolls of *the Queen Regent* to quit *the Duke of Gloucester* and to have quit not, to have advertised the designe nether to you there nor one Protestant heere, should be unpardonable, where there is reward or punishment. I know he now stands there the chiefest confident of *the Queen of England*, &c. There is not a person fit for him to have shunned but he courted him and brought *Sir Ed. Herberts* man to kiss the Dukes hand, when his master nether came nor sent. Your frend *Mason* is his supream confidence and brought often to private conference with *the Duke of Gloucester*. And often was our table quit to retire to him and have dinner for him there, least he should not have bin received otherwise to his worth. In fine, name me heere a *villaine*, and I will demonstrate to you some extraordinary acts of intinacy betwixt him and *Mr. Lovell*, but I cannot cease wondring that these gulleries should be beleaved amongst you. In troth, shortly it will be a crime to do our duties and meritorious to disserve you. And at this tyne a day I see wee are looking at

1653 single governing and not at union of counsellis and the honor of a counsell bord, without which monarchy will never buoy up again. I am glad to heare the gallant carriage of the Princess Royall towards my Lady Herbert and Boswell. Beleeve it, noble and gallant resolutions must bring us home and not sheepish and selfe-seeking wayes. God make the actions and minds of our Royall issue equall to their great birth and the virtue of their father, and that they may take up his last glorious resolutions of sticking to a good conscience. You aske why *the Duke of Yorke* proceeded with noe more vigour; most assuredly *Sir Jo. Berkely* is the cause and, whatever our great maisters with you please to think, *Sir Jo. Berkely* governess in transcendency, and in that family *Mr. Bennet* is but a cypher, though truly he carries himselfe exceeding well and to the great satisfaction of lookers on. I pray let 458, which formerly stood for Lord Byron, now stand for Mr. Bennett. He is coming towards you and in the main is very right, I believe, or else I would not tell you soe. He seemes very much rejoiced in your frendship. I pray favor me to let him know as of yourselfe my esteeme of him and character the right way. There be but few right heere, and I would oblige them where with such justice I can.

Since the newes I sent at rebound out of the letters from Collogne seemes soe incredulous to our great masters there, I will not tell you what wee [hear] of Dr. Morleys great indiscretions (to mitigate the terme it came in) at the Duke of Newboursghs^a entertainment, nor his other at the table of the Princes Royalls Hoffmaister. These were brought hither by a pretender to be an eye witness and a person of quality. The papists improve it much. Nor I will not returne you the relation of the last hunting, whence it is said none returned sober but the greatest and T. Elliot to attend him, nor the divisions and quarrells of Fraiser and Wentworth, Fraiser and

^a Philip William, Duke of Neuburg, succ. in 1653. The King paid him a visit, with the Princess Royal, at Dusseldorf at the end of October, 1654 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 411).

Newburgh,^a Wentworth and Fleming,^b Newburgh and Taafe, all 1655.
 which are the great mirth of *the Pallais Royall*, nor Dr Fraisers
 new theses that Lord Gerrard hath baffled all the Lords about the
 King, nor his conquest over Menes^c and Binion,^d nor your record
 from Collogne that *Medicus Regis Angliæ pareit veritati*, nor that
 rant of the Phisitian that the last king deserved to be deserted by
 his people, since he had forsaken his ancient nobility and run away
 with Hide, Nicholas, and Culpeper. Good God, can it be possible
 such a person can be suffred in a court after all this? Is there no
 warme blood? I will not insist nether on the assurances from
 Collogne that the Palatine family will not contribute a farthing to
 his Majesty, much approved heere, nor the expression of the writer
 thence, who says he knowes not whether it be better or worse that
 many of the Princes hold back, since it issueth out soe fast to pri-
 vat uses and to plant colonies, and will not repeate what followed.
 Time will quickly shew us whether Mr Herbert Price^e shall be ad-
 mitted presently Master of the Houshold, since his friends write
 word he will not sett quiet with a deniall; but I wish soe well to
 the Kings affaires I hope he shall have noe other but a deniall.
 The letters say that *Lord Gerrard, Blague* (for whom I pray hence-
 forward let 452 stand, which was formerly Belfast), Herbert Price,
 Sir Marmaduke Langdale and *Dr. Fraiser* set up for one knot
 hopefull to encrease, and then concludes *Sir Ed. H[ide]* dis-

^a Not the German Duke just named, but Viscount Newburgh (above, p. 78, note a).

^b Sir William Fleming, 2nd son of John, 2nd Earl of Wigton, and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King (*Archæologia*, xxxv. p. 338).

^c Probably Sir John Mennes, knighted as Vice-Admiral in 1642. See a memoir of him in T. Park's edition (1817) of his *Musarum Deliciæ*, etc.

^d George Benyon, Gent. of the Bedchamber (*Cal. Clav. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 29); son of Sir George Benyon, of London (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* 1500-1714).

^e Son of Tho. Price of co. Hereford, and M.P. for Brecon in 1640 and 1661-78. He was buried in Westminster Abbey 3 Feb. 1677-8, being then Sir Herbert (Chester, *Westm. Abbey Reg.*, p. 193).

1655. pleaseth, *Norwich* absenteth, *Lo. Rochester* murmureth, *Lo. Wentworth* railleth and is discontented. I omitt much which my eyes have seene. And, for a close, take it from me that *Qu. Engl.* did accuse *Lo. Jermyn* for that he had assured her in his opiuiou and the opinion of *Lo. Percy* and *Sir Jo. Ber[keley]*, &c., before any thing was attempted on *the Duke of Gloucester*, that such attempt would not prejudice *the Kings* affaires, which he denieing her passion carried her to these words, "Allez, allez; vous este vne *sic*] impertinent." And this was after *the K^s* first letter and before *Mar. Ormond*. I am assured, from those that say they have seene, that the Duke of Buck. appears publicuely at Mass at Nostre Dame as a convert, but will not yet beleeeve it. I hope the newes of yesternight is false that the Duke of Richmond^a should be dead. If soe, there is a widdow; whose she shall [be], I know not but *Pr. Ruperts*. Sure I am, I am

Yours.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

14.

Paris, 8 Jan. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

f. 13. Our climate heere affords little newes; as for *Pallais Royall*, they continue there old wants, but I am assured by a good hand that these last fitts of discontent in *the Duke of Gloucesters* bussines have soe pulled *the Queene* that *she* may want strength to see another sommer. However, the passion continues and I am threatned as high as ever, and the event will be *Lord Hutton* must quit *Paris*. *He* only stayes the event of his motion *unto the King* recommended by *Marq. Ormond*, which if it takes, as he builds

^a Vol. i. p. 3. He did not die until 30 March. His widow, Mary, daughter of the 1st Duke of Buckingham, and formerly wife of Charles, Lord Herbert, married for her third husband Thomas Howard, brother of Charles, Earl of Carlisle (Chester, *Westm. Abbey Reg.*, p. 215).

upon it by your furtheraunce, *Ma. Ormond* and *Sir E. Hi[de]*, conceaving himselfe secure in 3 such able assured frendships, *I* shall then have opportunity to say much to you by word of mouth and lett his frends know that this kind of rescuing him from his sollitudes and present *French and Pallais Royall* contempts and threats is soe seasonable that a greater favor they cannot doe him. And this will not soe much advantage him as render him serviceable to his frends, since he shall soe settle his affaires as to enable him to express the reall offices of a friend. But, if *I* remain unfortunate in soe reasonable a proposition comitted into the hands of 3 such frends, *Lord Hatton* will then choose to retreat into the greatest obscurity, resolving he will compass noe ende in *the Kings Court* but by *his Ma^{ties} favour* and the interest of such worthy frends as he now builds on. Although he hath lately experimented *a grome of the Bedchamber* could carry out a less deseruer, when *Lord Hatton*, professedly befrended with those of a higher condition, was nevertheless left sticking in the mire. When I see the success of my bussines now a foot, I will explain this riddle unto you, and in the mean tyme it hath noe reflection upon your selfe. I confess, sir, I am *fort annuyee* of this place, people and course of life. I am glad I receave leave and disentanglement by the good liking of those neerest to mee and with me that I may goe once more to the service of my master. Itt rests now only from you there to receave. And my share is only to run cheerefully to worke or retreat sadly upon a refuge. The event will cleere all, which will be very cheereful or very sad. I pray, if *Lord Ormond* have not comunicated it unto you, aske him if he received not a letter from me ether at *Bruxells* or at his arrivall to *Collogne*, whereto I referre you. The peace betwixt the French and English is yet very variously discoursed on. Letters from England say the fleete is setting out with 14,000 men commanded by Venables. I heare from a very good hand that *Madam Chastillion* hath leave from the French court to treat with the Prince of Condé, and that they

1655. confide soe in her taat they have established to her her pretentions of soe much upon every *muy* of wine as amounts unto the best part of a million per annum. Sir Richard Forster^a was this weeke given over by his Phisitians, but mends againe. The newes of the Duke of Richmonds death is not confirmed, God be thanked . . .

Your owne to dispose,

S. S.

The person which my sonne as yet thinkes fitt to engage to correspond with *S[ec] N[icholas]* is Mr Wagerson, Secretary unto the late *Earl of Danby*^b; but he will not fix till he be there, which will now be very shortly. We have stayd together to take some resolution, and he hath put me soe on upon the designe I propose by *Mar. Ormond* that wee are fixed ether that or a retreat as a cast-away.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble}.

Hage, 12 Ja. 1655.

- f. 16. . . . I delivered your letter yesterday to Mr Renswoud, who came to towne but Satterday last. He hath no apprehension of Cromwells protectorshipp on this side the sea. When he writes I shall send it on. I was to have given yours to 613 [*Sommelsdijk*], but he was engaged. I shall wayte on him (God willinge) tomorrow mornynge. I wonder not y^t your frinde differs from you in opinion touching the Councell you mencion, for certainly he is of them that would see your scene changed, and y^t designe is layd on the *hast in to France*, and though you finde continuance of kindnes, that intention is earnestly prosequeted, and certainly it will have as

^a Treasurer of the Household of Charles II. (vol. i. p. 153).

^b Henry Danvers, cr. Earl of Danby 1626; d. 1644.

ill construction, if it soe fall out, as the *Counsell* for *Scotland*, and the multiplication of such actions must needs diminish the reputation of the authors. *Lord Gerrard* is very much loved and in esteeme with 613, and, however he addresse himselfe to *Sec. Nicholas*, he will remayne unsatisfied with the utmost that can be effected, unlesse that be done which probably will undoe all. I thinke many men professe opinions which they have not and sometymes scorne and vilifie where they see not cause, but would willingly have it thought soe. And I should little consider the opinions of those that offer recommendacions of such as themselves never judged worthy of them. I have seen somewhat too much of late, and, though there are noe perfections in this life, yet the old rule is best, to sticke to such as have least ill, and all men are bounde to prevent publique mischeife as farr as they are able. There is nothing heard heere of the Embassy of Leda^a; but I was lately told that the designe of Cromwells fleete is to receive Dunkirke and Graveling, but that is not beleevd, though among conjectures it is not the remotest. I was told that Blake was seene in the Streightes and that the States Generals had letters of it. Beverniuck the Ambassador being asked an account of his embassy desired excuse till his colleagues came together. . . . I cannot make any conjecture of Cromwells busines with his parliament, but think he lyes upon the reserve. Captⁿ Mewes is not yet come, but your letters give us the expectacion. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

^a The Marquis de Lede, Governor of Dunkirk, Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary to England, where, however, he did not arrive until May (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1655, p. 151, and below).

1655.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

RT. HO^{ble}

Paris, 15 Jan. 1655, st. no.

17. . . . I ever ought to retaine a due sence both of your favour and especially of his Majesties goodnes in acceptinge my poore service about the Duke of Glocester, which you doe mee the honor to let mee know from his Mat^{ie}. I have been given to understand that the Queene makes quite another construction of mine obedience to y^e kinge therein, and that her Ma. was pleased to expresse herselfe with much severity towards mee. Whereupon on Munday last I went to see my lord Jermyn, and to desire him to procure mee audience from the Queene to justify my selfe, as one who have bene ever ready to serve her Mat^{ie} and never deserted her to my knowledge, and I was extremely desirous to preserve my selfe in her good opinion. My lo. Jermyn tould mee that I could not but thinke that y^e Queene must necessarily be offended for any man to be an interloper, and to meddle with thinges which belonged not to them and thereby to crosse her designes in things which were in her power and at her disposall. I replied that what I did was but y^e delivery of a letter by the kinges expresse commande and I was no interloper. His Lordship tould mee that it was in my power to have the kinges command or not to have it; I might have chosen whether I would have it or noe, which he severall times repeated. I sayd that the kinges command came to mee altogether unexpected, I had not sued for it. Then my lord sayd that I might have excused my selfe from obeyeing it. "My Lord," sayd I, "I believe your Lordship knowes how much the kinge was concerned in that busines, and therefore I though[t] my selfe bound in ducty and allegiance to obey and not dispute his pleasure, who-soever else were interessed therein, especially seinge both the Queene and D. of Glocester and my selfe, all of us, ought allegiance unto y^e kinge, and therefore no person whatsoever could dispence

with my duety to his Majestie." My lord said that the kinge 1655.
indeed was concerned in the busines, which made him angry at
him (my lo. Jermyn), but allegiance does not extend to all thinges,
and the Queene would take it ill that I should teach her her duety
to the kinge, which she knew well enough and would not learne
of mee. This his lo^p spoke with some earnestnes, and severall times
repeated it. I answered that it was farre from mee to teach or
tell y^e Queene her duety; what I spake was only in mine owne
justification. He sayd that the Quene expected from mee that I
should rather have assisted then opposed her desires concerninge
the D. of Gloucester. I answered that I was tould that the Queene
should say that two dayes before I delivered the kinges letter to y^e
Duke, I had promised the Queen to further the Dukes conversion,
which was so farre mistaken, that I had not seene the Queene of
above a moneth before, nor at all since I heard any thinge of the
designe of puttinge y^e D. to y^e Jesuits. This particular I am a little
astonished at, that her Matie should say that I was with her and
promised myne assistance towards the Dukes turninge his Religion,
which yet I heare from severall hands that the Queene has tould
it to severall persons. Shee sayeth likewise that I endeavoured
to have gotten a chamber for myselfe in the Jesuits college to be
nere y^e D. of Gloucester. But this might be tould her Matie by
some y^t make no conscience of what they say. But the speech of
my beinge with her and my promises to her Matie herselfe, this
cannot come from any misinformation. Pardon mee, ho. Sir, for
troublinge you with this tedious narration. I confesse it does affecte
mee to be thus treated; yet I thinke y^t I expressed not much passion
to my lo. Jermyn, though I doe not remember that I was ever so
used by any man y^t pretended civility towards mee. I pray you,
Sir, let my lo. Lieutenant know this story, by which my friends
may see what favour I may expect from this court. I have bene
threatned, behind my backe, to have some mischief done mee; but
threatned folke live long, sayes the proverbe. I confesse that I am

1655. sensible of y^e D. of Yorkes condition, when I consider whom he has about him and what company he must necessarily be with, whilst he lives in this place.

Yours of the 5th of January came to mee the 13th, which was in shorter time then any I have yet had from Cologne. I did believe y^t my lo. Lieutenant would have bene with you before that, and I cannot but wonder if he did adventure himselfe into Holland, for he knew his danger there. My newes from England is that there is no appearance of any agreement betwene England and France; yet wise men thinke that y^e matter may still hange in suspence, as it does. Wee say that Blake and y^e Spanish fleet are joyned, but certainly Tholon is not blocked up. Since I begun this letter I am tould that some English were now lately landed betweene Brest and Morlaix, and the contry risinge bett them backe to their ships. There has bene great care taken to guard all the coast of Britanie. The Cardinall of Rets now at Rome has gotten a declaration from the Pope, to make all those Priests irregular who have bene lately ordained here in his diocese without his consent. They say that *an expresse is now come from Rome (who was but 10 dayes on his way)* and bringes newes of the Popes death.^a On Saturday was sevenight it was debated in y^e Parlement of England, whether Cromwell should be kinge or noe. He has lately doubled his guardes.

Y^r ho^s most humble servant,

G[EOERGE] R[ADCLIFFE].

Whensoever you shalbe pleased to favour mee with your letters, direct them to Monsieur de Colton à Paris and I shall call for them at y^e post, or send, as this your last was, under my lo. Hattons cover and directed to mee by mine owne name.

^a Innocent X. died on 7 Jan., and was succeeded by Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII.) on 7 April.

I think there was no expresse, yet the newes holds and is believed.

1655.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

15.

Paris, 15th Jan. 1654.

f. 19.

. . . I am hartily sorry and much afflicted for the distemper of the sweet Duke of Glo.; which, as I am informed from some of his family, stayes him in phisick at Antwerp, though it seemes they think the worst past. I find my self exceedingly out in the approving or disapproving of persons; for I see what is good heere in the meridian of Cullen is naught, and what is good there in our experience is bad heere. As for Mr. *Griffin*, I dare boldly say, upon my experience in this late bussines and during his abode in my house, his carriage hath bin discrete and honest, and my suspect jalousie and wat[c]hfullnes ouer him hath many witnesses, which I dare say will be as many testimonies of his integrity and fidelity in that bussines. I answeare for noe other; let him stand or fall according to evidence. I was informed ill of him in relation to England; I purge him of that noe otherwise then what is good I am an eye witnes off, and what is ill I only had by heare-say. This I dare say, he stands as ill with *Pallais Royall* and *Papists* as Mr. *Lovell* stands well with both, and that I assure you is in a high measure. And though all men there at that distance have a very good opinion of Mr. *Lovell*, yet withouth the least prejudice to them I may keepe my opinion, that experience hath given me. And if the proposall of relinquishing his charge and quitting his masters commands for rewards and pensions be integrity, with diuers other circumstances I am glad I have not mentioned, be marks of integrity (*sic*), I shall not soe venture for the good opinion he can maintaine. As for weakenes, I must quit him, when, beleeue me, he is soe dexterous to keepe in favor soe deeply with all in the *Pallais Royall* and in soe perfect good opinion in *Cologne*. But you haue said my aime in saying that doubtless he is not quallified to be a *Gouvernour* to such a Prince as the Duke of

1655. *Gloucester.* If it be soe vnderstood, it is enough; in earnest I haue no mallice to him. But since by one inclosed in yours I am taught a new Ethicks and Politicks to thinke soe well of ill men, I will hence forward say nothing of persons of what sort soeuer, which truly I thought a duty before to admonish my friends that they might be ware of persons as well as of some bussinesses. It will ease me, and my thoughts of persons will be noe burthen.

I thanke you for the letter you sent me vnder his Maties hand. It is very well; but when there shall be occasion againe to say any thing of that, I pray lett something be said very particular to me concerning the prevention of the Dukes goeing into the Jesuits upon any termes, for that is pressed most against me, which may come opportunely enough in the K's acceptance and approbation of my endeavors by all wayes and meanes I used to prevent his brothers goeing into the Jesuits upon any termes or conditions. Let it appeare that was enjoyned me and my endeavors therein are aproved, and I can contest with them then fully enough; for they labor to suppose me to have bin bussy therein and that without warrant. Therefore, upon my Lord of Ormonds recitall to the King what I did in that case, I should be glad the particular were approved there, as my lord very nobly did heere, to which noblenes of his I attribute a great deale of my safety. But after a late passage heere what need wee take such care of his Maties commands and approbation? Wee are taught a new doctrine. Yester night Sr Geo. Ratcliffe told me he had bin to make his peace with the Queene, and in order thereunto to entreat my lord Jarmin to bring him to the Queene, for that he did understand shee was angry with him in the bussines of the Duke of Gloster. My Lord replied, "And hath shee not cause to be angry with such interlopers and bussie bodies?" Sr George said what he did was by written command from his Maty. My lord told him it was easy for him or any man to procure commands from his Maty, but he might have excused himselfe from performing and executing such comands as others had

done. S^r George said there was an allegiance due from him, I (*sc. aye*) and from the Duke and Queene both, to his Ma^{ty}. My lord told him there was those that stretched that point of allegiance too farre, and he had best g^oe teach the Queene her duty, who would let him know his owne and the high displeasure shee had against those who had any wayes acted in this bussines, chiefly himselfe, who had promised to further the Queene in this designe. To that S^r George protested he had not scene the Queene of many weekes before he meddl^d in this bussines and that the last tyme he had waited on her was before this designe was set on foot. You see now how boldly wee can be trod on for serving the King. This S^r George told me twice over and once to my wife. 1655.

I pray, Sir, when the money to Mr. Scott is paid (which might have bin spared by the money left with *Lo. Percy*), move there may be a letter of thanks to M^r Scot and let me convey it to him, for it will encourage the man in greater matters, when his Ma^{ty} hath occasion to use him. And, beleeve me, this was a great matter he did. I find the English Benedictines and Father Barton the Jesuit very desirous to stand right at Court, and indeed they have bin very discreet. If his Ma^{ty} will give way that you may command me in his name to take notice of their discrete carriage in this late bussines, it will encourage them and they will doe good service in rectifieing and confirming many, if you please to word it kindly to them and to the rest of the discrete Romain Catholics, which may give them a ground to worke upon others. I beleeve my cozen Watt will have but few adherants, when they shall be encouraged in their discreet way and have ground to encourage others

Your owne intirely obliged and affectionate,

S. S.

1655.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

HONORABLE SIR,

Hage, Jan. 18th, 1655.

f. 25. I am very sorry that things answered not my expectation; for, as I past Amsterdam, I met with a Letter which informed mee that the ship I came over in was by order of the Bremers commanded to bee brought vp to the vsuall winter harbor neere the Towne contrary to what the skipper promised mee, who was resolved to let hir ly so low in the River that hee might put to sea at any season. And I doe not all doubte but that hee used his vtmost endeavours to effect it; but the Lords of that place would not permit it, so that I am disappointed that way. Nor am I less frustrated of my expectation from Zeeland, haveing received no answer of my Letters from St Patrick Drummond, so that I am compelled to make fresh addresses thither. I was yesterday at Rotterdam, where I finde som vessels bound for Hul; but I thought it not so convenient to make enquiry in my owne person for any for Scotland, but have imployed a freinde or two, by whom I shall bee informed what vessells there are, and for what Ports they are bound, and the affections of the Masters, according to which I shall bee able to make my applications to them. I hope his Majestie and my freindes will bee so kinde as to beleive I shall omit no opportunity to performe my duty, for I know nor fancy no felicity like the contentment which ariseth thence. I have met only with one Letter out of Scotland, which is from M^r Bruce (whose name I desire may bee added to the cypher num. 518) of an old date, Nov. 6. It speakes no news but the deserved enter-taynement of Glencairne at Edenborough, where, the only time hee shewd his head, hee was cald publicly rogue and Traytor, one who engaged Gentlemen in a busyness and sold them and left them in the end. I am to morrow (God willing) bound for Tyling, for the weather diverted mee from wayteing on hir highness in my

way hither. What news this Towne affords I can not relate for I have hitherto scarce spent so much tyme in it as to visit my freindes, and I wish an opportunity of a suddayne passage would offer it selfe, though I waved the complement of a visit. 1655.

I have in relation to my selfe met with som vnpleasing news since I came hither, which is the Death of my vncle the Bp. of Lincoln,^a who deceased in Sep. last; and I finde y^t som of my Relations have made a very advantageous use of my absence and particuarly my voyage into Scotland, where they kill'd mee in report, though I hope I shall live to make them ashamed of theire forgery. Nor doe I any more doubt his Majesties justice to mee, when he shall have power to administer it, then I doe of the righteousness of his owne cause; and in y^t confidence I have an abundance of content. One thinge I cannot omit to minde you of (who I beleive will presently make the same reflection), that, considering the mortality of the Fathers of our Church, som care may bee taken for theire succession. . . .

Yours to bee commanded,

P. MEWS.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

16.

Paris, $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan. 1654.

. . . I humbly thank the sweet Duke. I heare each post by his directions of his condition and am glad he is soe well recovered and provided of a Phisitian against all relapses. In earnest, Sir, the carактер I gaue you of *Mr Hen: Bennet* was very sincere, and to you who are in my bosome I shall not thinke my selfe vndiscreete to tell you what I thinke of men and when and why I change my opinion, and the rather since I make it a matter of conscience to

^a Thomas Winniffe, consecr. in 1642, d. 14 Sept. 1654. Mews owed to him his education at Merchant Taylors' School (Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1815, iv. p. 29).

1655. informe you whose judgement and integrity can weeld it to the Publick good without injustice or extremity to the Parties. And it was vpon that and noe other score that I lately touched vpon *Mr Lovell*; for I haue noe mallice to him and was farr from dreaming of ruine or disgrace to him, noe nor sequestration, but that great infirmities might be bridled in a subiect which concernes vs all soe much. But I repent not what I did, since I haue discovered *Sr E. Hides* wondrous flegme and choller exhausted, of which I doubt his physitian *Germany* hath robbed him and now purgeth it in dvells or quarrells. I noe whit repent me of the Collogne newes I sent you, since I was soe confident of the falsnes that I won a wager vpon the particular of *Dr Morley*. But I huddled it in to my letter to confirme what I had formerly told you that strange stuffe was writ from thence, whereas one of yours told me your great ones would not beleue such things were writ thence as I formerly hinted. Let them ground their beleeffes as they please and let tyme instruct and vndeceauce them, for deceaued they may be, that it is certaine and experimented. I can be content to keepe my weake intelligence to my selfe and disturbe noe bodiēs quiet. As to your selfe, I shall cuer be what you guide me to be and neuer vse a court stile of calling good ill and ill good. When I cannot serue without Hypocrisy or dissimulation, I can be silent as well as the greatest formalist.

I am hartily glad that *Sr E. H.* and *Lo. Wentworth* are well iointed, for iarrs there are sports at *Pallais Royall*. If you did know by what persons heere I did receaue the immortality of that quarrell and the story of the *Dr*, you would haue thought I had cause to sweare it. But truly I did suspect the things, though the Persons are very valuable in your esteeme as well as mine. As for the newes of the *Duke of Buckingham* being a *Papist*, I told you at the same tyme I did not give credit to the report, though I receaued it from a place where they said they saw him in the full exercise of that Religion. His Aunt

sayes he is a Presbiterian. And for the newes of the D. of Rich-
 [monds] death, it was heere reported by one M^{rs} Sandys, who liues
 high and splendidly in this towne; but, as I am sure it is not true,
 soe I cannot heare there was ground for it. That Print which you
 have that soe briefly mentions the Duke of Glo: bussines is not
 that which doth heere soe much displease. This is solely on that
 subiect, divers Pages allmost to 6 sheetes of Paper, as some say;
 but I have not seene it. Indeed, I was pressed to be of opinion
 that the story should be written, but I could not assent for your
 very reason and the consideration that *the King* ought to be con-
 sulted in itt, that it might not preiudice his affaires. I confess I
 advised *Du: Glo., Mr Louell and Mr Griffith* to draw vp a diary
 to present to *the King*, for it was necessary they should all 3 con-
 ferre notes; but I am confident they did nothing therein, though
 they approved it, resolving I beleeve to doe it as they drew neerer
Cologne. And truly I doe not thinke that ether of them gave
 coppies of those letters, for I know *Mr Griffith*^a refused it and I
 did not see *Mr Louell* negligent of those fresh letters, nor indeed
 were they I thinke in his hands. One of them I saw but handled
 not; the others I neuer saw. I confess I suspect a very honest
 man to be guilty in that bussines, but it is not cleere to me. I dare
 not speake to him of it, for, if it be soe, it will come out. If I
 ghesse right, he was abetted by those I will not name, but I beleeue
 in that case *Mr Lovell* was ignorant of itt. Be it which way it
 will, I am sure I smart for it as farr as *the Queene* can brand. But
 I am innocent enough to endure in this cause the height of their
 angar, for upon the faith of a Christian I neuer knew of any
 such thing till *the Queene* diuulged it, nor yet know not any one
 passage in it by any relation but theirs.

The issue of the treaty betwixt Cromwell and France is as
 variously reported heere as there with you. The wiser heere

^a This name here is the deciphrment of 506, but of 607 above.

1655.

expect not a peace; and the most heere begin again to grow weary of their obedience and could be content to have another extravagant fitt, soe much their load encreaseth and their patience diminisheth. But I presume those who thinke I cannot vnderstand the intrigues of *Pallais Royall* haue exact intelligence of the French newes; and I am confident they will beleue their owne way before a better. I see, if I draw neerer, we shall haue much to discourse and if I doe not now draw neerer by the call of desire, I shall then despaire of euer seeing my frends, for I will then retire into some obscure corner, where I will noe more thinke on the world then that thinks on me. My sonne is resolu'd to serve you to the purpose and more wayes then one. As for the intelligence part, besides the settled correspondence he will giue you, he intends to salute you often in his owne hand and, as he hopes, with what you may not elsewhere heare. And to the end wee may not interfere, I pray tell vs freely whether directly or indirectly *Tom Chichly*,^a holds any correspondence directly or indirectly with *Secretarie Nich.* or any other to your knowledge there with you, the knowledge where of will conduce very much to your seruice; for if he doe, then wee will auoid that path, if he doe not, wee will plough with his heifer as well as with others. And vpon your answeare to this question I shall tell you more that you will approue on. I can neuer enough thank you for the hint you gaue me of writing and I will in that as all other things follow your directions. I remember you asked me what became of *S^r E. Herbert*. He is very very priuatly in towne and appeares noe where in publick but at *Pallais Royall*, in the armes or about the neck of *Lo. Jermyn*. I assure you, what euer may be thought with you, *S^r Jo Berkley* hath fast hold on *Du. Yorke*. I doubt not but you know *M^r Hen. Ben[nets]* arrant to your part, and a yong Gentlemans heere to *Du. Yorke*. I know.

^a Of Wimpole, co. Camb., M.P. for the same county in the Long Parliament, but disabled in 1642. He was re-elected in 1661, and was Master-General of the Ordnance 1670-74.

they are great secrets, but, God be thanked, one or other charitable body are trusted that is loath to leaue vs in ignorance. Whether it be true or false, I meddle not ; but, if true, those that talke heere are to blame. *Sir G. Ratclif* tells me and many others that he lookes very shortly to be sent for to *Cologne* and that he was to have gone when *Du. Glou.* went, but that his health would not permitt. I beleuee he be very weary of this place at this moment, for truly he carried himselfe very honestly in the great bussines, but not soe skillfully to thinke he could outgoe vs on both sides. He despaires of *Du. Yorkes* fauor to or reception of him, whilst *Sr Jo. Berkeleys* maximes are pursued. *The Queene* in the opinion of those should know is much worse in health then *she makes shew for*. *Watt Mountague* is euery day more deserted then other, and indeed those I named in my last are diligent to dismount him in the opinion of the Bigotts. And if notice be taken of their discretion, as I proposed, it will exceedingly encourage them. . . .

Your owne vnchangeable,

[S. S.]

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT NO^{ble},

Hage, 22 Ja. 1655.

The prints of this weeke give little but the discovery of a plott ^{f. 32.} and some persons apprehended, and an intimation y^t there must be a further discovery, though some write y^t the doublinge of y^e guards vpon this report (which they thinke a designe) is to force the parliament and make him kinge. Yet some lettres say a man of quality is taken and arms found in cittizens houses. This, with the newes wee have been soe long vexed with the repetition of, makes me beleuee the guards looke only that way and y^t wee shall heare of the misfortunes of some frends shortly. And if there be a discovery, I feare it will extend further then any formerly in many

1655. respects, and especially it will fall on *Councillor*, for the conduct wilbe questioned that a busines being soe longe layed and soe publicuely knowen was not executed. For I cannot apprehend how a matter soe talkd of as *S^r An. Cogan*^a found it in cittezens houses, both how large numbers of armes and men, could be longe without discovery, where an inquiry was most certen; but it must take its fate. I sawe on lettre which I cannot well vnridde; he writes of troubles and dangers and yet is loath to speake what it is or when. The man is well affected and, if his meanyng had byn from the plott discovered, he might as safely have written as the gazett of that subject beinge knowen, and he could not speak of doubtfull dangers, for it was certen, on them y^t should be discovered to partake in the plott, and by my conceite of it his writing looks not on private danger but publique tumult. But, when I have considered all, I feare the worst. I spake with *Lo. Culpaper*, who had the lettre as soone as he came to towne. I know nothing of his comyng to you, but vpon speech of the common reports touching the designe in England, he protested his ignorance of it and sawe not how there could be a fitt coniuncture for any; and for the making Cr[omwell] king, his iudgment was that he had noe fears from the assumption of that title. All the intelligence that I hear in this place is that the French conceive Cr[omwell] vncerten and that he is on and of with them; and it is demonstrable by the courses and interests of each that they will not be hasty to an open rupture nor a sudden peace, vnlesse some new danger or advantage give an occasion. The fleete is said to be gone to sea, but wee cannot sound the designe.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Sir Andrew Cogan, of Greenwich, Bart. (*Chester, Westm. Abbey Reg.*, p. 26). In the Clarendon Papers his name appears as Coggen (*Cal.*, iii. pp. 242, 243).

1655.

HEER VAN SOMMELSDIJK.

MONSIEUR,

De la Haye, ce 25 de Jan. 1655.

. . . . Par ce que le Sieur de Bordeaux escript comme s'il croyoit que Cromwell pretexoit la conspiration pour quelque aultre desseing, et Nieuport d'aultre costé asseure que par le filet tout le peloton a esté entierement descouvert, et marque que par le saisissement d'un Colonel Grey et d'un Marchant qui a fourni quantité d'armes on scaura dans peu de iours toute la menée et les partisans. Dieu veuille que ce dernier ne dis la verité, afin que ce qui reste de bien zélé pour le service du Roy n'y soit estouffé. Cependant j'ay veu aussi par la lettre du premier que tout le Traicté avec la France ne tient, sinon que de ce costé la on ne veult tant ceder à la vanité de Cromwel, comme premierement nous et puis après les Danois et Suedois auons faict qu' aussi tant s'en fault qu'il se defie plus de la flotte de peu, qu'au contraire l'opinion de plusieurs, aussi bien que les apparences, estoient qu'elle entreprendroit sur les Indes des Espaigniols et particulièrement sur l'importante Isle de Cuba; et pour plus grande preuue, que vostre protecteur se veult s'accommoder avec les Francois, il a faict casser et annuler l'Acte par lequel le transport et l'entrée des vins de France estoit defendu en Angleterre. . . .

f. 34.

C. d' AERSSSEN DE SOMMELSDYCK.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO CAPT. MEWS FROM COLEN.

1⁶/₂₅ Jan. 165¹/₂.

I have herewith what exceedingly amazed and troubled [me] to hear, that since your departure from hence you have to several persons in Holland reported (as out of kindness and tenderness to me) many things to the prejudice and disparagement of Sr Edw. Hyde, as that he makes himself here sole minister of state, takes

Add. MS
4180,
f. 129.

1655. on him alone the sole management of all business, and made me here but a Cypher; adding withall that I brought him first to Court and had been a principal means of his preferment there, and further saying that you observed S^r Ed. Hyde was no friend to Lt. Gen. Middleton, and said you would let him know so much when you came to Scotland. I am sure you cannot but know the great friendship and kindness that hath been long, and is still, between S^r Ed. Hyde and me. And tho' I have known him long, yet I assure you his own abilities and loyalty got him the great esteem and favour he had with the late K. before I had the happiness to be intimately acquainted with him. So far have I been from being instrumental to his preferment in Court, where he wanted not many great friends that, if it had been needfull, would and could have therein served him far better than ever I could. As he is very faithfull and industrious in the K's business, so he is certainly best versed in all his Majesty's present affairs, having been constantly employed therein these many years, and by his sedulity and dexterity is without doubt most able at present to manage the same. And yet for all that, I do not find that he doth meddle in other men's offices further than to contribute his assistance for the better dispatch of his Majesty's Affairs. I can therein say for myself that, as soon as I came to Court, he did in a very friendly and generous manner deliver to me all things that belonged to my place; which in my absence he executed in a very friendly manner and with much respect and kindness for me. And I may tell you truly, I am glad of and find ease in his assistance in the business that relates to my Employment; wherein his experience and knowledge of the present state of business is a great advantage to me in performance of my duty in such things as are incumbent upon me, so as, tho' others may think me therein a Cypher, because my friend assists me in it, yet I assure you I take it for a great, and it is a singular, contentment to me. As for S^r Ed. Hyde's kindness to Lt. Gen. Middleton, I assure you, if I understand any thing, he is as

heartly and real a friend to him as any he hath in Court, or can have in any part of the world, and is as much concerned in all his interests. 1655.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.^a

HONOURABLE SIR,

I finde a sad and an vncomfortable account of our affayres in general, and more particular in Scotland; but I must profess I doe no more beleue any thinge of Middletons Capitulation now then I did of my Ld. Glencarns story about David Barellys^b makeing his Peace. Whatever it is, I am resolved to see the vttermost and giue his Majestie a just and faythfull account, so farr as I am able; to advance which shall bee (iff my endeavours fayle not) as farr as hee hath a man in Arms. I am sorry my judgement of busyness was so much Prophecy as I finde it. Iff our dull countrymen will not fly to theire swords, they will suffer the deserved punishment of theire tameness; but let those looke to it who have kept a Designe so long on foote and so long ready for execution without putting it into act, whither they may acquit themselves for good souldiers or good &c. I must confess I haue at present much Passion, but it is mix'd with Loyalty. Sir, I haue no tyme to say what I desyred, and perhaps it is wel I haue not, but pray beleue my passion. My designes, my interest are all at his Majesties commands, and I cannot doe any thinge which may make mee otherways then his subject and, Sir,

Your servant,

P. M.

Rotterdam, Jan. 28th, 1655.

^a Now on his way to Scotland. For the letters he carried with him see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 2.

^b David Barclay, of Urie, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus and as a Royalist colonel in Scotland. From his petition to Cromwell on 2 Aug., 1654 (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 283) it appears that Mews was too incredulous.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT Hon^{ble},

Hage, 2 Feb. 1655.

f. 41.

. . . . Its written from Antwerp that there its reported that a fuller discovery of the plott is made then the books tell vs or any els. I know not the credit of it, but easily beleeeve that, Cr[omwell] fishinge as he doth, though he have missed in some persons, accidents may bringe forth many particulars. Feare in some and endeavours of concealment in others may awake suspicions, soe as I expect in the next lettres some harder things then wee have yet heard. Though I see noe humane grounds of hope, yet I dare not despaire; I have seene soe much of providence in the proceedings of these tumults in state as gives me cause to expect that God will produce a conclusion to his owne glory in the shame and confusion of wicked men. After all that felicity which they grasped to themselves, wee have seene how one hath driven out another, and how their vile hipocrisies have lyn layed open soe as the poore people power contempt and scorne vpon them. And why then may wee not hope that God will at length give a cupp of his wrath in fuller measure to these miscreants, that have exceeded the impudence, though scarce the malice, of their progenitors? I have alwayes feared that, when ever a designe hath any connexion with these confederats of false principles, it will have an ill fate; but this is only a kinde of superstition, not reason of state.

I am very sorry for Mr. Ch[ancellors] losse in Mr. Edgman,^a who besides his masters service had many oblidginge parts. I beleeeve Cr[omwell] would be free of his parl[iament]; for, though they cannot doe him the harme they would, he knowes they will barely, if at all, be brought to doe him the service he would have. And in this plott he now hath vnder inquisition he may as well feare them as others. Some here talke of the mutinies in Scotland, but with noe ground of certenty. I heare this mornyng that Penn

^a Hyde's secretary (vol. i. p. 125), who had recently died (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 10).

1655. of preuention. Niewport in his letters of the last weeks makes as if they were not considerable. He informed also that lodgings were made ready in Whitehall for the Prince of Condé; but we doe not yet hear of his being gone from Brussels. There was a discourse here some time agoe that Niewport wes recalled, and with his colleague Beverning wes to be brought to answer for their negotiation before the States Generall. But there is nothing talked of late of Niewport's returne, nor doe I hear of any further proceeding against Beverning before the States Generall. In the assembly of Holland all possible endeauours haue been used to cleare him and Niewport, especially in that point glanced at in the speach made by the deputies of Friesland, as if the article of seclusion of the prince of Orange had not been demanded by Cromwell upon his owne motion; but upon suggestion and incitement from hence; for clearing whereof Beverning hath upon deliberation of the States of Holland been allowed to take a solemne oath that neither he nor his colleague nor any of this cuntrie with their knowledge had made any such motion or suggestion, but that it was meerly flowing from Cromwell himself and urged by him with so much violence as he would upon no tearmes be induced to close the treaty without it. Whereupon the States of Holland haue acquitted him and Niewport of all imputation touching that point and decreed thanks to be giuen them for their fidelity and conduct in their whole negotiation.

For the fleet, wee know nothing certain of their designe. Niewport writte that they had their randevous at the Barbados, which looks as if they might be intended for some of the King of Spaynes territories in America; but, as you say, I doe not see how that can agree with their assisting the Spanyard in the Mediterranean. Wee heard last week by Antwerp letters that Pen was joyned with Blake upon the Coast of Italy and had besieged Ligorne; but wee haue no confirmation of it. Of the treaty between France and Cromwell wee haue heard nothing of late. Wee haue likewayes that report you write of that

Archduke Leopold is to goe for Spaine and marry the Infanta, and Don Juan of Austria to be sent hither to gouerne in Flanders. I concurre with you in the beleef that the stopping of the dispatches sent by Col. Blagge hath done much hurte, and may perchance give occasion to Seaforth and some others to endeauour an agreement. But I shall never beleeeve Middleton will have such a thought, untill I see it. . . .

Now hauing answered to most of the points of your two letters, I must adde some thing concerning that businesse whereof I writte in the postscript of my last. I doute not but Mr. Chancellor hath shewed you the relation I sent him (to be imparted to his Matie) of all that hath passed in that businesse, whereby you can see how I was brought upon it, and what my cariage hath been in it. The truth is I have long been of opinion (as I beleeeve you may remember I haue sometimes freely declared to your self) that nothing could so much conduce to his Maties intereste, as well as her highnesses contentment, as a good match for the princesse; and I confesse for these reasons I haue wished to see her highnesse marryed to some prince worthy of her, that were of ability to contribute usefull assistance towards his Maties restablisment and afford her highnesse honorable maintenance according to the greatnesse of her birth, which made me the more apte to hearken to the motion that was made concerning prince Radziuille,^a not that I would take upon me to judge whether his quality or condition were answerable to what wes to be expected in order either to the Kings or the princesses intereste (for of that I conceiued none but his Matie was a competent judge), and so all that I endeauoured wes to bringe the businesse to such a point as his Majestie and his sister might haue it layd before them to be embraced or rejected as they should thinke fitte. Nor wes it my intention that it should euer come to the princesses eare but by the King; for I will take my oath I never spoke of the motion made to me in it, neither to the princesse nor

^a Bogislas, Prince Radzivil, whose mother was Elizabeth, dau. of John George, Elector of Brandenburg.

1655. to any person aliue but those whom pr. Radziuile employed in it, and I cannot wonder enough how pr. Radziuile would himself discouer a purpose which he hath so often and earnestly recommended to my secrecy. But it seemes he hath in confidence imparted it to his cosen germain the Elector of Brandebourg, to haue some aduice from him in it, and the Elector, as he can conceal nothing from the princesse Dowagere of Orange, hath acquainted her, who no sooner had it, but in her usuall charity to the princesse Royale hath done all shee can to make it publick, and, as I hear, hath endeauoured to make it beleued that what I did in it wes with knowledge and approbation of the princesse Royale, which is so farre from being true that I dare swear the first word that her highnesse Royale euer heard of it wes from that report which it hath pleased the princesse Dowagere to raise, shee hauing spoken of it not only in priuate but at publick tables both before and since shee went into Germany. It is true the honour and vertue of the princesse Royall is aboue the reach of all that her malice can doe; but it is a great misfortune to me, and doeth not a litle afflict me that I should haue had any share in the occasion of it, though I am conscious to my self of nothing but sincere intentions in it. And this is the fauour that I will desire of your self and all that doe me the honour to loue me, that you will please both to beleue your self and, upon occasion, assure his sacred Mat^{tie} of these two things: first, that upon forfeit of my life I neuer said nor writte any thing that might giue cause to beleue that her Royall highnesse had any knowledge of it, but on the contrary declared resolutely that it would spoile the businesse if euer she should come to hear of it by any other but the King; next, as I hope for heauen, in all that I haue done in it I had no other end nor aime directly nor indirectly, but meerly the intereste and advantage of his sacred Mat^{tie} and my Royall mistris, without the lest thought of any reflexion upon my self or any other person whatsoever. . . .

Your most faithfull and humble seruant,

A. HUME.

LORD HATTON.

1655.

SIR,

18.

Paris, 5 Feb. 1655.

Wee heare the sweet *Du. Glo.* is gon from Antwerp and by consequence hope *Mar. Orm[ond]* is arrived with you, which I hope will soone settle my rouing thoughts, since they only depend vpon a resolution from your parts. For hence I will remoue; and if it be as I propose, it will be cheerefull, if not, I will retreat very farr hence to a solitary course. Since I am sure I can neuer hope of a reception, if in this I be relected. The good Chancelor hath written in folio indeed, but the longer his letters the more need I have of yours, since two thirds of his are all wayes reproofes. What I haue writt [about] *Mr. Griffith* I extend noe further then the late seruice about *Du. Glo.*, wherein I will maintain that, in my knowledge and *Du. Glo.* acknowledgement to me, *he* did him very faithfull seruice in Publick and Priuate, and what others did tyme will better persuade then I. And indeed experience though deere bought makes better impression then I can. You will find it is more then tyme *Mr. Scott*^a be thought on, since he is much troubled att the protesting of the Bill drawne upon Webster, as *Sr Geo. Ratcliffe* and my last weekes letters will express to my lo. lieuetenant. And since you mention nothing concerning the Benedictines and father Barton, I will say nothing, though to my knowledge they haue done good seruice. I am very apprehensiuie of *M^r Chancelors* loss in *M^r Edgeman*, if he doe not recouer; for truly he was an able and humble person. Is *Sr Geo. Hamilton*^b gone from you againe for *Scotland*? It is thought *Cell. Blagge* did noe good seruice to returne soe soone and neglect his arrant. I[t] was by some heere hoped that *Mar. O[rmond]*

^a William Scott, of whom 5,000 livres were borrowed for the Duke of Gloucester's journey, Hatton and Radcliffe being sureties (*Col. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 8).

^b Fourth son of James, 1st Earl of Abercorn, cr. an Irish baronet in 1660; father of Col. James, Sir George, and Count Anthony Hamilton of the *Mémoires de Grammont*.

1655. might have bin called some other way from *Antwerp* or *France*; since some heere report it was his arrant into these parts more then for *Du. Glo.* If our reports be true concerning the peace concludel betwixt France and England, as the Cardinalls reports (*sic*) for certaine, it will be tyme to returne directions from *Cologne* to that part of *Mr Bennets* which is by some heere said to be to demand advice for *Du. Yorkes* disposale of himselfe, and whether he shall serue this nation in *Savoye*. For my part, if it be true, I wish his person out of their reach. As for directions they say heere *Mr Bennet* went for concerning *Du. Yorkes generallship* for *England*, I feare wee are not yet ready for that good houre. However, I haue scene letters thence that say wee shall haue a crisis before the end of this term there. For my part I neuer like the bussines better then when I heare nothing of itt, for tatling spoils vs. And yet I doe not beleieve wee receave hurt by those that know, but by those who pretend to know, the state of our affaires euery where, which they truly vnderstand nce where. Me thinks the newes of Leopald should be like to be true. I pray, what beleeeve you of the Dons in case they fall out with England? For I heare from good hands, if the French and English [make] peece, that the English will fall out with the house of Austria and that the French, the Portuguise, the Hollander and Swede driue att that. I doubt Barberines^a faction will not carry the Popedome, and I as much doubt whether wee should haue advantage by his faction. But without doubt, if there be a peace with England, *Pallais Royall* will be much disordred, for they did verily belecue it would be a warr, what grimaces soeuer they made, and did by that meanes promise themselves the gouernment of *the Kings affaires*. *Lo. Percy* sayes he sends you constant and faithfull newes which neuer failes and sayes he now assures you of a breach betwixt England and Spaine. . . .

Your owne vnalterable,
S. S.

^a There were two cardinals of the Barberini family at this time, Francis (b. 1597), cr. card. in 1623, and Charles, cr. in 1652.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

1655.

Rt. Ho.

Paris, 5 Feb. 1654.

f. 46.

. . . . It is reported here and believed that the Peace betweene France and Cromwell is concluded. The D[uke] of Y[ork] tould mee that, when Bourdeaux y^e French Embass. was seeminge to take his leave at London, one comes to him from Cromwell and tould him y^t he might have peace upon the conditions which were condescended vnto by France and now lately sent from hence into England. What these conditions are I have not yet learned. But upon this I asked his R. H^{nes} what he thought to doe. It seemes y^t it has bene represented vnto him (I know not by whom) to goe to Savoy and to serve the French against y^e Spaniard in Italie. The D. tould mee that his Aunt there^a had bene very kind to all our Royal family. His H^{nes} did not declare to mee any resolution or inclination of his owne; but he tould mee that perhaps he might be permitted to stay here, y^t he would speake with the Cardinall, and then he would speake further with mee. I am very confident that he will determine nothinge untill he know the Kinge his brothers pleasures, which, beinge made knowne unto him, wilbe his rule vnto which he will wholly conforme himselfe. This is a matter farre aboue my abilitye to advise his R. H^{nes} in—the consideration of his Pension and the support he hath in the Place; the respect of his Honor in servinge those who have now made a friendship with his fathers murderers; the possibility of fallinge out betweene England and Spaine; and the use which the Kinge our maistre may make of y^t variance, if it happen (as some confidently believe it will fall out). In which case for y^e D. of Yorke to be engaged against Spain, nay, to be but here in France, is a thinge to be foreseene. These particulars and others (which are not so obvious unto mee in the obscurity wherein I live) seeme to mee to deserve a most

^a Christine, sister of Qu. Henrietta Maria and widow (1637) of Victor Amadeus I., Duke of Savoy.

1655. serious deliberation, and thereupon his Maties directions seasonably given to the D. his brother. I suppose that you will have better information of this Agreement betwene France and England then I can give you; wherein the degree of the League wilbe of great moment as vnto y^e D. of Y's concernements. But I thought it my duety rather to be troublesome then negligent in matter of this consequence; wherein if I may be any way vsefnl to his Maties endes, I shall humbly begge the honor of his commandes.

Sir, I am infinitely comforted that his Ma: is so graciously pleased to accept of myne endeavours to serve him in y^e D. of Glocesters busines; and I most heartily thanke you for letting me know so much. I assure you, Sir, this goodnes in his Ma: towards mee does farre overbalance all the frownes and threats and malignity which any body else can cast upon mee. And truly, Sir, I have y^e vanity to count it an honor to mee, in doeing my duety to the Crowne, to suffer for it; which has beene my portion sometimes before this accident fell out.

The Cardinall de Retz did set out a declaration directed to y^e Archbishops and Bishops of France. I heard of it bothe here and from Rome; but before I could get sight of it, it was burnt in Paris by the hand of a hangman, as containinge mater tendinge to sedition, and they say that it is death to have a copy of it. I was tould y^t it is 8 sheets of paper, and full of most respective expressions towards y^e K. of France. But there is somethinge else in it, it seemes, which has drawen so severe a doome upon it.

I perceiue from my lo. Lieutenant that he had received two of my lettres by your meanes, for which I humbly thanke you. I writ a third the last weeke, which I hope by the same favour will come to his handes. It concernes my lo. Hatton and mee, who are engaged to Mr. Scot for the money which carryed the D. of Gloucester from hence. This money was payable on Tuesday last to M^r Scots brother at Amsterdam. Wee were all confident that M^r Jo. Webster before that day would have received some directions about it; but it seemes that y^e D. of Glocesters sicknes at Antwerpe and

my lo Lieutenants stay there on that occasion was the reason y^t Mr. Webster heard nothinge of it. And this makes M^r Scot call on us. I shall not need to trouble my lo. Lieut. any more about it (for I am sure y^t he will not forget it), if he have my lett^re; else I should have taken the bouldnes to have intreated you to have taken vs into your care by mindinge his Ma: to give order for the satisfaction of this money, and, if it may be so thought fit, to let M^r Scot know y^t his Ma^{tie} takes very kindly from M^r W^m Scot his readines to serve his Majestie in this seasonable and very necessary supply.

I am, Sir,

Your Honours most humble Servant,

DE COLTON.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

HON^{ble} SIR,

I am by Gods Providence safely arrived at y^e Port which I desyred, though through very much danger by sea; and indeede our escape was most miraculous, our ship as wee passed the Dogger sands in the night falling vpon another which lay there at Anchor. Wee broke the Key of our Blind close to the Boresplit, and, heaven favouring vs, cleer'd ourselues without any other damage. The minute in which this happend was the most dismal that I ever yet met with, certayne ruine being every ones expectation. The same hand which then preserved mee will I hope bee my Guide *on land*, where *I am to encounter as great dangers*, my *passage* being represented to mee by som as impossible, by all, full of difficulty. But the earnest *zeale* which *I have to performe my Duty* admits no discouragements; though (amongst many other) my want of such a degree of health as I know you wish mee might pleade for mee. My resolutions are to endeavour to *get up* to

1655.

Duchry,^a who I heare is in *Aberfoile* and *Macnachton* with him. If I shall not bee able to *go on*, I can with som confidence promise my selfe *safety* ther vntil I can get fuller information of *affaires*, and bee certaynly advised *where Lt. G. Middleton is*, which yet I cannot learne. As for the *condicion of affaires*, it is answerable to my feares. I wish my weake (yet hearty) endeavours may contribute any thinge to the bettering of it. In order to which, vnderstanding that *L. G. Mid.* hath obtayned a *pass for three* to *treate* for those few who have so far *don there Duty* as not to bee their owne carvers, and supposinge y^t *Maj. G. Drummond*^b will bee one of the *thre*, I have left a *letter* for him informing him of his *Ma^{tie}* pleasure and resolutions, with such other circumstances as I thought might best contribute to *his service*, and have withall left a *copy* of the *Instructions* to *Lt. G. Middl.*; all which I did fearinge I should not get *vp* to *L^t. G. Mid.* before they were gon. The person to *whom* I haue committed *this province* is *Mr. Bruce*, one whose *zeale to his Ma^{tie}* is most eminent, and *his care of me* for his sake such as *I can never enough thank him for*. I haue with this sent you inclosed the *Copy* of a *Letter* written by *L^t. G. M.* to *Lo. Napier*,^c by which you will haue some light concerning the present condition of busyness. This *Letter Lo. Napier* neuer received, hee being *gon for Holland*, where I wish hee may arriue safely, for his condition heere was highly sad, though I beleieve hee will bee too modest in the relation of it. The *Letter* which I had for him I haue sent by *Mr. Bruce* to *his Lady*, supposinge in the midst of that affliction which *she* cannot but haue in her feares for

^a John Graham of Duchrie, supposed to have been the author of the account of Glencairn's rising printed in *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, 1822. Alexander Macnaughten of Macnaughten figures in the same work.

^b Major Gen. William Drummond, youngest son of John, 2nd Lord Maderty; after the failure of the present rising he entered the Russian service, but returned to Scotland after the Restoration, and was created Viscount Strathallan in 1686 (d. 1688).

^c Archibald, 2nd Lord Napier, nephew of Montrose, succ. 1645; d. early in 1660. For the letter to him from the King which Mews sent on to his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Erskine, Earl of Mar, see *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 2.

him, it may bee som refreshing to finde *the King* so kinde to him and her. This may perhaps bee censured (as that other to *Ma. G. Drumond*) for too greate a presumption ; but iff I have err'd, it is an error of the right hand, and therefore I despayre not of my Pardon. 1655.

Haueing given you this short (and God knows too *sad*) account of *affaires*, I suppose it will bee soone resolved whither it bee proper at this tyme to *send those supplyes* which were intended. I wish wee may have a good occasion to *use them*, iff not *here, els where*. I hope all is not layd aside in *England* ; a little *motion there* would yet give life to the now *dying condicion of affaires here*. I haue formerly both spoken and writ my minde so freely (perhaps in som mens judgements, who are not so hot for *action* as I am, too freely) vpon this subject that I shall add no more, but only wish. iff the same *slownes* which hitherto wee have bin guilty of bee still continued, I may bee a false Prophet. You will perceiue both by the inclosed and when you shall discourse with *Lo. Napier* that many Persons whom *I* represented vnder a fayre character haue since vnderdeserved it ; but I never pretended to haue the skill to foresee mens reprobation, nor durst I euer judge of any man further then his present actions gaue mee warrant for. I know there was nothing of interest or selfe ends could induce mee to giue them those characters, and it had bin a very greate argument of want of charity for me to condemne any man before I knew him guilty. Iff ever it shall bee my fortune to meete with those who haue so much abused that esteeme I had of them, they shall know how vnworthily they haue betrayd my credulity, and those I cannot reach any other way my Pen shall finde them. But I giue you too much trouble concerning such nothings. Let them but liue to enjoy the blessed frutes of theire Perjury, and they will buy theire repentance deare enough. I hope you receiued both my letters written just as I left *Holland*, and knowing how apt you are to pardon all those errors which I cannot but commit I am confident that all which they were guilty of is already pardoned ;

1655. and that what ever this may offend in (and certainly it cannot but offend many ways, I being involved in so great perplexitys, and wanting that perfectly without which the calmest condition is not pleasant, my health, will obtayne the like favour. I shall add no more but desyreing you to present my most humble duty to *his Ma^{ty}* (in whose favour next heavens I most desyre to live), with my service to *Lo. Ormond, Norwich, Lo. Newburgh, Rochester, Wentworth, Sir Ed. Hyde* with the rest of those freindes (though they have no names in the Cypher, they haue very deepe impressions in my breast) who dare continue good, shall humbly begg of you to continue that degree of favour which though I haue not merited, yet you haue bin so long pleased to bestow on,

Sir, Your most devoted and most humble Servant,

757

From *Colrosse in Perthshire.*

Jan 28th 1655.^a

I have agreed with *Mr. Bruce* to correspond with you or *Lo. Newburgh* by sea, for which hee will have now allmost weekly conveniences. The letter will bee sent either to *Mr. Dias* by the name of *Kent* (which pray intimate to him) or to the Knight in *Zealand* who hath the same surname with *M. G. Drumond*. Yours will come by the name I vse to write to you by, those to *Lo. Newburgh* by the name of *French*. Hee will make vse of this cypher to you both, for I knew no other safe way. Let yours or *Lo. Newburghs* to *Mr. Bruce* by sea bee directed to *Thomas Dunbar* of this Towne for *John Burnside*. *Coll. Morgan* is com post from *London* and gon north as *Generall Major*.

There are som villaynes who have represented *the D. of Yorke* as a greate hater and Enemy of *this nation*, which I am sure is no good service. I desyre you to present my humble Service to *Lo. Nappier*.

^a Old style, i.e. 8 Feb., N.S., as appears from Nicholas's endorsement and the letter above, p. 177.

Since the subscribeing of this, I am informed y^t it is very doubtfull whether *Deuchry* bee in *Aberfoile* or no. I expect one this night or to morrow early, which I hope will giue mee a perfect account in y^t particular. Iff hee bee not there, it is concluded impossible for me to moue, the *Mac Gregors* haueing not only capitulated but taken part with the *Rebells* and committing most barbarous Insolencys. They haue killed one *Capt. Buchanan* who was in *France* about a yeare since [I am since better informed y^t it is not y^t man, but one of his Kinsmen]^a and very shrewdly wounded *Leny Laird*, a very pretty Gentleman, who is by y^t meanes forced to seeke a pass from *L[ieut.] G[en.] Monke*. I had greate reason to hope better things of one of y^t Family, who, though hee was not in y^t vnworthy action, yet I heare hee is bad enough; and I belieue *Lo. Napier* was once of the same thoughts with mee, as I am sure *L^t G[en.] Middleton* was. All these things, as they give very much trouble in reference to the *Publike*, so you may easily guess I cannot bee so fondly mis (sic) as not to thinke my owne safety much prejudiced. Yet no meanes shall bee vnattempted to discharge my duty, and, iff I bee compelled to see you soner then you expected or I desir, I hope the King will not be offended, since I endeavor all ways to serue him. In which particular I shall not neede stand to my owne Testimony, haueing honourable wytnesses to justify mee. Iff I find no way to go on, I shall labour, iff possible, to secure my selfe in these parts vntill those who are to treat come from *L[ieut.] G[en.] Midd.* and with them to communicate the state of busines, or, iff y^t may not bee effected without manifest prejudice, leaue such things as are convenient in a safe hand. This burthening you with Postscripts is, I confess, a rude way of writeing, but at present not to bee avoyded, because som things new offer themselues; and perhaps before I shall close this (for I will keepe it open as long as I can) I shall bee forced to add more. I wish it may bee

* The sentence in brackets is a side-note.

1655. such as may *please his Ma^{ty}*, then which nothing can bee more desyred or endeavoured by

Your most humble servant,

757

Jan. 30th never to bee forgot.

This night late y^e Gentleman I expected is come to mee, who informs mee y^t *Deuchry* keepes very *close*, haueing the season more *his friend then any thing* els, and y^t *Mac Nachton* is forced to part from *him* and is gon towards *his owne country*, haueing taken y^e Governours of *Inuerara* and *Donbarton*, who are but Captaines. This hath wholly diverted my thoughts for y^t way, and now I must, iff possible, take som other course to *L. G. Midd.*, who, the same Gentleman tells me, is in *Isle Sky* in y^t part which belongs to *Maccloud*. I cannot imagine (nor doth any one els) my *passage thether* possible at present, *the snow* being so exceeding greate, and y^t *I am to pass through* the worst part of all y^e *hills*, and, vnless *Ea. Seaforth* (who hath capitulated) favour *me*, cannot pass over.

Addressed:—A Mons^r Mons^r Rigborne.

HEER VAN SOMMELSDIJK.

MONSIEUR,

De la Haye, ce 15 de feburi, 1655.

f. 52. Estant auant hyer ches l' Ambassadeur de France, ie luy vis receuoir vane lettre du S^r de Bordeaux, par laquelle il luy mandoit premierement que de part et d'autre on s'estoit si bien accommodé sur ce qui iusques icy auoit esté difficulté qu'il ne falloit plus meshuy doubter de la conclusion du Traicté entre le Roy et le protecteur, et puis faisoit aussi scauoir pour chose tout-affaict notable que celuy cy s'est emporté a tel point d'orgeuil que, seulement parce que le parlement ^a n'a pas voulu conferer avecques

^a The first Protectorate Parliament, dissolved 22 Jan. 1654-5.

luy sur les resolutions qui auoient esté prises pour le reglement du 1655.
 Gouuernement (accuse qu'il croyoit que cela derogeoit à son respect et autorité), il s'est la dessus tellement despité, qu'encores qu'il sceust que presque tout estoit en conformité de sa volonté il est pourtant allé au lieu ou le parlement estoit assemblé, accompagné de ses Gardes ordinaires et de deux compaignies de Cauallerie, lesquelles ayant faict mettre en bataille deuant la Maison, il est entré en la Chambre painte, où il a faict demander des Deputés au Parlement, qui tout aussi tost luy ont esté enuoyés et ausquels, apres auoir faict vne harangue qui a duré vne heure et demie plaine de reproches et de menaces, il declara pour conclusion que, puisque selon son compte le temps qui auoit esté ordonné pour la tenue du Parlement estoit expiré, qu'il le tenoit pour dissout, et sur cela les Deputés se sont retirés sans vng mot de replicque et luy aussi s'en est retourné à Wythal. Vous voyés la vne action tres hardie et tout affaict insolente, que ie tiens fort favorable pour vostre Roy, parceque le S^r de Bordeaux adioust qu'il paroist dans tous les visages qu'on est outré de ce procedé, qui faict cognoistre que comme cest Usurpateur s'est eslevé par la violence qu' aussi il est resolu de ce maintenir par son moyen

Le tres humble et tres obeissant seruiteur,

C. D'AERSSSEN DE SOMMELSDYCK.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

20.

Paris, 19 Feb., 1655.

I am very sorry that the letters miscarried the weeke you f. 56.
 mention, for in that Packet I tooke the boldnes to write vnto *his Ma^{ty}*. I beseech you therefore, if those letters be not yet arrived, fauor me soe much as to hint vnto his Ma^{ty} my misfortune, and vpon your advertisement they are not come I shall returne againe the substance of what I then writt. There was likewise in that packet one to my Lo. of Ormond from my selfe and one from S^r

1055. *G. Rattcliff* to *sec. Nicholas* both signifying how ill wee stand with *Mr Scot of Rouen* by the permitting a Bill to be protested by *Mr Webster* drawne but formally upon him concerning the moneyes heere taken up for *the Duke of Gloucesters* occasions. I was only actiue in procuring the money and passiue in all the formalities vndertaken by *S^r G. Rattcliff*; and both of vs are likely highly to suffer in itt, if better care be not taken then yett is. I pray lett vs know our doomes. I assure you the curtesy was very great from *Mr Scott*, and he doubts vs because he nether had touch kept with him nor acknowledgement, which would haue calmed him towards vs. I will send you heerein his letter to me, though I cannot send you the pressures of the French to whom he adiournes vs.

I thought I should tire out *S^r Ed. Hyde* for writing, for, my intelligences being so friuolous, my familiar discourses would not long pass for letters. As for the newes of the peace, I might allmost say I haue had as many various reports of it since I began to write as their be lines in my letter, and which is truest, in earnest I know not. From England noe letters that I can heare on doe avow it concluded, but some express the contrary. The Parliament is certainly dissolved, and with reproach to the members by their Protector; and me thinkes it is a wonderfull justice of God that all those rebellious assemblies haue beene anihilated by there Creature and the thing, as well as the word, Parliament become soe iustly contemptible since they revolted from their true *Mr* and more gracious protector then euer they will find. *Mr. Boswell* was lately second in a duell for *Mr. Killegrew* against two other English. He is now missing and thought to be gon with the *Du. of Buckingham* for *England*. I told you once a story of such a iorney; I can only adde that the Gentlemans brother, who I then told you spoke of this iorney, is now gone along with the *Duke*. Whether they go quite ouer or to the sea side, a little tyme will discouer. Letters tell vs from England that *Cromwell* proceedes in discovery and punishing the actors in these new

plots. I pray God preserue our friends ; butt really, Sir, such a fate of diuulging, as well for vanity as falshood, hangs ouer vs as they will neuer want matter to pretend plots. 1657.

Heere is much talke of a designe of the Irish papists to preferre a petition to the new Pope (that shallbe) to giue and recomend giuing of money into the K^s hands for their vse. And the[y] say *the Queene* hath sent for some of them and will embrace the designe and will pursue it at Rome by *Mr. W. Mountague*, whom *she* designes for the Gratulatory Ambassador to the new Pope and to demand of him the renewing the priuiledge of holding Benefices which the last Pope granted to *the Queene*. But since they were neuer yett gott, me thinkes the Priuiledge should not be worth renewing till better vse could be made of itt. Others lay great wagers *Marq. Ormond* comes not yett to you, and say they knew his coming from you related more to *England* then to *Du. Glou.* and that the coniuncture of tyme added the last to his employment. . . . You are pleased to say *Sr G. Ratelif* desires leaue to come to *Collegne*, which supposeth him to be imployd heere or to seeke for it there, else leaue is not, I suppose, necessary for one that at his owne charge and without sutes hath a mind to come thither. But he assures vs *Marq. Ormond* soe pressed his iorney as necessary to *the Kings* seruice as not without great resolution and dexterity he auoided goieng with him and obtained not leaue to stay till he was faine to assure his obedience to a call from thence, which he weekely expects. Wee heare *Sr George Hamilton* is to goe for *Scotland* to supply *Coll. Blages* defects, which some heere giue out to be a great disservice in *Blage* ; others approue much his prudence. *Lo. Muskery*^a growes greater euery day then other and gaines interest in *Du. Yorke* ; God send it be for good. I hope I may lawfully wish that, though I be taught to repeat noe bodyes faults. It is sayd the Irish bussines of money

^a "562," a mistake of Hatton's for "462," i.e. Sir John Berkeley, corrected in his letter of 12 March.

1655. from the Popish Clergy is hindred (as I thinke it iustly may be) att your court, and that it is the more approued heere from the dislike of those particular persons who oppose it there, though my Author needed not to haue branded the opposers. Since I find it is held calomniuous and scandalous to name persons to the faults, I find likewise some case for breuity. But I haue much to crye you mercy for in the long entercourse of letters for that error of mine which thought it more vsefull for you to know the offenders then some tyme the offences; and he that needes not be advertised of indiscreete as well as vitious and dishonest persons is farr wiser then euer I looke to be without those helpes. Sr Spencer [Compton] is still heere, but Mr Chomley (Sr Hughes^a yonger sonne), who mett him heere, is gon for England with intention to retorne againe, and was very gracious heere with *Lo. Jermyn*, *Lo. Percy* and *Sr Jo. Berkeley*. I trust in God your next will confirme the K^s health free from relapse, which doubtless, Sir, [is] a blessing wee ought to price by inioying, for without doubt he is the breath of our nostrills. I pray God preserue him for our dayes and you to his seruice and in your affection to,

Sir, your most humble seruant,
S. S.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONO^{ble}

Teyling, $\frac{12}{2}$ Febr., 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

f. 58. The French and English letters ar both comed this week, which speake both of the treaty between them as a thing as good as concluded. Yesternight *Mons^r Henfliete* came from the Hage and

^a M.P. for Scarborough in the Long Parliament till disabled in 1643; retired to France in 1645, but returned and compounded in 1649 (d. 1657).

tells us that he mett with *Lo. Culpeper*, who showed him a letter from *Lord Jermyn* bearing that Cardinall Mazarin had told him, and desired him to acquaint *the Queene*, that their Ambassadour Monsieur de Bourdeaux had well near closed the treaty with Cromwell, the reparation of damages sustained by the English merchants being referred to the arbitrimēt of the town of Hamburg, and that they had been forced to consent to the remouall of all persons out of France whom Cromwell would declare to be his enemies, without exception of the Queen her self, unlesse shee should retire into a Monastery. How unwelcome this intimation wes is not heard (*sc.* hard) to be guessed, and I haue heard another way that upon this *the Queene* did immediately send to let the French court know that *Lo. Balcarris* wes there with a *commission and full power to treate with K[ing of] France* upon the score of the *antient league with Scotland* and therefore desired that *he might* first be heard; but what *answer was giuen* I doe not know. There is here comed lately a Gentleman of *Ea. Lauderdale* who came from London on Fryday last wes senight, who tells me that upon dissolution of their parliament all the members went away extremely discontented and many of the Counties near London haue refused to pay the sesse; and on Satterday last there came into Rotterdam two pinkes which bring word that the town of Hull is declared against the present Gouernment, and that two men of warr that were lyeing in the roads haue done the like. If some few other places would follow that good exemple, wee might haue some hope to see affairs quickly in a better posture, as bad as they ar at present. Here hath been with us the Lord Naper, who is gone towards Collen, and will informe you of the afflicted condition of the poor cuntrie from whence he comes, so I need not anticipate his relation.

You write that Cardinal Francisco Barbarini is belieued to stand fair to be elected pope. But they seldom chuse so young a man as I take him to be. I haue heard of one Cardinal Bichi,^a who is a

^a Alessandro Bichi, cr. card. in 1633, d. 1657. Franc. Barberini was 58 years of age. Neither was chosen (above, p. 164).

1655. very old man and doyen of all the cardinals, that some thinke is like to be chosen. I haue acquainted your neece Mrs. Hyde with the tendernesse you expresse for her, who returnes her humble seruice to you with many thanks for your care of her. But shee hath not been in any such euill disposition of health as it seemes you haue been informed. Only one day shee took a litle physick, since when shee hath euer been a great deal healthfuller and handsomer then before, and shee is indeed a very excellent person, both for body and minde, as any young gentlewoman that I know. . . .

Your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. HUME.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

21.

Paris, 26 Feb. 1655, st. no.

f. 61. Yesternight Mons^r Bourdeaux (the French Ambassador for England) arriued in this towne, reports whereof are various, but one iust now tells me he saw a letter writt under his hand, which three dayes since this party read, that related his doubt of the conclusion of the treaty by reason that, as oft as he brought assents to Cromwell, soe oft did he giue him new Articles, 2, 3 and 4 at a tyme. The French court giue out that the Peace will be concluded notwithstanding their Ambassadors arriual, but they say indeed it will not be yett a while concluded. The Queene sent my lo. Jermin to the Cardinall (this weeke) to know whether the rumors were true, ether concerning the excepted persons or the conclusion of this treaty, and to offer to his consideration whether it might not yett be worth the consideration not to conclude it so speedily, with some intimation the K^s affaires went well. The Cardinall was very high and loud and wondred the Queene and King and their Ministers could not see that this peace with Cromwell tending their seruice was necessary to enable the French to serue the King and Queene, it being their ayme by this treaty, and would not inlighten

his lordship in any particulars. But these affronts will be made vp by the resolution some (not ignorant) giue out is taken, that the K^s pension shallbe withheld vntill the Queene demands it and sollicites it by Lo. Jarmin and Mr. Mountagu att the desire of the King, and then it shallbe assented to be payed into her hands only, whereby they hope to gouerne at Colloigne. 1655.

Wee heare that Tom Coke^a is victor in Germany and Holmes, sometime the Prince his Page, is vanquished and very dangerously hurt in the neck. It is much that Ferns(?) should now serue in the Rebells fleets, being the only confident the Prince had amongst the sea men in his whole voyage. My sonne is not yett gone, but soe soone as I haue an answer of what success I haue in the motion which *Mar. Ormond* vndertakes to make at his arriuall, and wherein I doubt not of *S^r E. Hydes* and *your* assistance, he shall then goe, since on that depends the finall disposall of my selfe. To your question concerning *Du. Yorke* I know not what to answeare, considering my new ethicks, that to speake freely of persons is to be a calumniator. I wish all well and pray it may be soe, and want not my share of feare euery way whilst *S^r Jo. Berkeley* and all that tribe are about him, with such interest as they have. I heare much. I am glad care is taken for Mr Scotts bussines. I haue bin very roughly dealt with in that heere since my last; and I doe not wonder att it, since I vndertooke long since to procure him his Mat^{ys} letter. And vpon my sollicitation for them I was answered from Collogne that could not be vntill *Mar. Orm.* returned, which made him thinke I dealt faintly for him, and soe he pressed hard vpon me single. But now *S^r G. Ratcl.* hath obtained those letters, the obiection remaining as strong, I presume it may appease him in the bussines, though not reconcile him to me. And soe the bussines be done, I shall not quarrell through whose hands the fauor goes.

^a No doubt the same Tom Cook who died at London of fever in 1656, and whose great parts and loyalty are eulogized by Hyde in a letter of 7 Sept. (*Char. St. Papers*, iii. p. 395).

1655. If the truth of the story be told, it will appeare what part I had in finding out and procuring that money. If it be payed and soe certified hither by Easter, Mr Scott and his Agents will be content; but, if it be vnpayed or vncertified soe to be hither at Easter, they haue by their letters (as vsually) warned me singly to looke to it at my perill.

Your very humble and most affectionate Seruant,

S. S.

Wee are glad to heare soe many are sent away vpon designes as are lately gone from your court, as the letters thence tells vs. God speed them in their seuerall Prouinces.

I was not deceaued in the printed relation of the Duke of Glosters bussines, for I haue now seene it in Mr. Churches hands. A long tedious false and most ridiculous thing it is, but noe letters of the K^s printed in it, as was said. Wee are glad to heare (as *Lo. Jermyn* reports openly) that his Maiesty hath such good account of his affaires and expects soe speedy a turne as his letters to the *Queene* imports.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

R^t Ho.

Paris, 25 Febr., 1654.

f. 63. I was tould yesterday by a good hand that, though the Agreement betwixt Cromwell and the French Kinge be in effect made, yet the perfectinge thereof may yet be delayed for two or perhaps 3 moneths longer.* Most men believe that this great strength at sea which Cromwell has sent first to Barbados (where they take in 4000 men) is ment against the Kinge of Spaine, both in regard of y^e peace lately made with Portugall and in respect of y^e provisions y^e English ships carry. A short time will discover it; in y^e meane time it seemes to mee a Riddle.

* The peace was not actually signed until 24 Oct. [3 Nov.] 1655.

I have had severall discourses with his R. H. my maister concerninge his disposinge of himselfe. He allwayes tould mee that he would doe nothinge without his Mat^{ties} privytye. Yet I thought he much enclined to be in some employment and to that ende to goe to Savoy and serve the French in Italie; and I doe not doubt but that he had some that would encowrage him therein. I confesse that I thought it was more for his honor to serve the French before this Peace with Cromwell then it wilbe now, when he is in a sort sent out of y^e way; as also to serve under Mons^r de Turein (the greatest Captain livinge) then vnder Prince Thomaso,^a no better a soldier then his R. H^{nes}. But it seemes that I am no competent judge of these thinges; my breedinge has not ben this way. I finde that by a lettre received this Post from his Ma. his R.H. is very much satisfied and resolves now entirely and absolutely to cast himselfe upon his brother and to be wholly disposed of by him, which was to mee an infinit comfort to observe. I would gladly tell you in your eare that I heare somethinge of *another lettre* received this weeke from the Kinge, of which I should tell you my foolish opinion, if I did not feare that you may have laid aside that cypher which I had formerly with you. Certainly secrecy is the life of busines. It has allwayes bene my rule never to trust a woman with a secret. There came a lettre hither before Christemas somewhat to y^e like effect, which made them sport; for it was not believed that things were so hopefull as was pretended. I sent my lo. Lieutenant a Copy of verses concerninge Cromwells drivinge a coach in S^t James's parke; I thinke M^r Chancelour, in my lords absence, got them. I have lately heard of an answere to them; but I could not get the beginninge of it. The two last stanzas here you have, which I pray you present to his excellence, seinge I have no other newes to impart.

1655.

I ghesse now that there may be more cause for writinge this lettre then I understood when I writ this lettre.

Your most humble servant,

G. DE COLTON.

^a Thomas, Prince of Carignano and Count of Soissons, son of Emmanuel I., Duke of Savoy, and uncle of the reigning duke, Emmanuel II.

1655.

Since I had written this, I am told that Mons^r de Bourdeaux (the French Ambassador with our John of Leyden) is yesternight late arrived at Paris, and men say that he is nothinge satisfied.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 26 Feb., 1655.

f. 64.

. The prints tell vs of more apprehensions, and that which I most think on is S^r H. Bennett^a and Co. Grey,^b who had beene vnder examinacion before ; the rest I little regard. What the rest are vnnamed, I rather feare then am able to coniecture. It goes beyound my imagination that James Read^c should have a lettre from the King, as the prints tell vs, and it is as strange that at this tyme pistolls should be found in his chamber in such a proportion. I mett once with Sr. Fr. Mackeworth, but I had little discourse with him. I wrote in my last of the lo. Napyers being here and the hard condition of things in Scotland. My last spake the newes of the peace of Cr[omwell] with the French, which perhaps may be nere, but the prints speake it not out. I formerly thought that Pens designe was against the Portugall,^d if vpon any part of the Indies, and, if soe, the peace with France cannot be nere. But some say the peace with Portugall is very advantageous, and then it will not be willingly broken. There is a Fleete pre-

^a Sir Humphrey Bennett, of Shalden, near Alton, co. Southt. (*Dring, Compounders*, 1655, p. 16).

^b Col. Edward Grey (*cf. Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 16, 208, and *Cal. St. Pap.*, 1655, p. 114). The *Mercurius Politicus* (No. 243, 1-8 Feb.) calls him brother to Lord Grey of Wark.

^c See *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 20, where he is said to have been a servant to Sir Francis Mackworth. See also *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 270, 5-12 Feb. He is apparently the Lieut. Reade of whom Norwich speaks (below, p. 280) as having been betrayed by his (Norwich's) grandson.

^d Penn's fleet, which sailed in December, 1654, with land-forces under Gen. Rob. Venables, was designed for Hispaniola, where it arrived on 14 Apr. After a fruitless attack on St. Domingo the troops were re-embarked on 3 May, and the fleet sailed for Jamaica, possession of which was taken without trouble.

paring in Holland, but, by what I can learne, not in any readynes ; 1655.
 and, though the interests of the ruling party have a great connexion with Cr[omwell], yet I am told by some that know much they love him not, but dissemble as he doth and are backward as much as they dare in his advantage I make noe doubt but the breach with France was more desired by some that you name then any strength at home to helpe the King. I see men looke how their private interest is advanced by the publique and will rather hinder any honorable designe then weaken the hopes of their owne greatnes and the power they have provided to themselves in their relations. Mrs. Grenvilles commyng hither makes noe alteration, neither doe I see soe great greife as should cause such a voyage as might be feared.^a I hope you are soe thoroughly informed of my disposition, that I am not by nature inquisitive and in busines of publique Councell should not wish that which I must hold an error, to have the adventure of the knowledge of such things as might miscarry by discovery and which could not be communicated with the duty of those that were intrusted with them ; but a great part of what is intimated, I beleeeve, is come to my knowledge. I wish God may in merey conduct the actions to successe, though the frequent accidents that arrive in the progresse of great vndertakings make me fearfull of miscarriage and the present reports much threaten. The D. of Glo. was here yesterday. I wish he may continue here ; but wee have little expectacion of the Princess's commyng to the Hage, for there is noe chaplayne but Dr. Browne, and, if shee come to the Hage and vse the French church, there must be a sermon every Sunday, which will not be done, and some thinke better noe church then another chaplayne

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a This sentence is obscure, but the lady is no doubt the same whom the Queen of Bohemia was compelled to dismiss from her household a year later (see her letters to the King in Thurloe, i. p. 671, 673).

1655.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Teyling, 1 March, 1655, st. no.

f. 66. By yours of the $\frac{26}{18}$ Febr. I understand that his Mat^{tie} kept his time of setting out from Collen on Wensday last,^a which her highnesse was aduertised of before wee receiued these letters, though shee spoke nothing of it untill it wes generally known. The lord Taffe, as -I conceiue, informed her particularly of his Mat^{ties} purpose. . . . You tell me that his Mat^{tie} left order that his family should remain at Collen untill he returne or giue further order, and if so, I wonder how the Lo. Gerard and Doctor Frayser with so many others came away so quickly after him. I beseech God Almighty to blesse him in all his wayes and giue successe to all his undertakings and restore him speedely to his just rights.

The French letters of this week speak as if there were some demurre in the signing of the treaty, nor doe the English at all mention it. For that which I writte in my former touching *Balcarris*, I thought you had knowen that before he painted from rs he obtained from y^e King *lettres of creditt to France* (but not to be made use of vntill *the Queene and lo. Jermin* should thinke it time) to negotiate vpon the score of the ancient league with^b the Islanders and Scotland to endeavour to hinder the treaty with Cromwell and procure some assistance to be sent to Scotland. This, as I heard from *himself*, wes by order of y^e Qucene deferred to be moued till now of late that I haue heard another way, that upon appearance of the *closing of the Treaty* it was straight resolved to trye that way. But since I haue heard no more of it. There is indeed preparation making here of 30 ships to be sett out as soon as may be, but upon what desein is not certainly known.

^a He had secretly removed from Cologne to Dusseldorf (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p 22).

^b Deciphered "from," no doubt in error.

Some beleeeue they ar intended for Brasile against the Portugais. . . . 1655.

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

A. HUME.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 2 March, 1655.

I beleeeue the motion of *the K.* was the matter of all lettres that came hither by this post, and all men make coniectures acordinge to their prepossession; and it is impossible to supplant the opinion taken vpp which is not purely coniecturall, for there have beene soe many agents imployed and they have had soe many confidents as it cannot be circumscribed in a few what is in their knowledge, and I was told of the purpose diverse dayes since. I wish the *newes of y^e last weeke* prove not dangerous and that *our hopes* be not blasted. I am told that *Jamot^a going for England was stayed at Dover*, but is since in France. Its said lettres directed that way sent him thither, whereof notice was sent that the like hazard should be avoyded. But *Oneale and Armorer* came thither and met the same *danger*. What the issue is I have not yet heard, but *lo. Wilmot* had notice of it from them and stayed. This *I desir* may not be taken notice from me. I am told that one commyng out of England reports that at Gravesend he was told the King was at Dunkirke, soe as you discerne what watch there is, and by the adventures run I beleeeve men that depend on others are deceived by them, and the busines that is acted at Cologne (I speake not of Councells) is much knowen here. For there is a loade of newes, and some things are to be spoken before persons by order, who I feare kepe it not soe

^a Styled in the Clarendon Papers Lieut. Col. Jammott or Jamott (*Cal.* iii. pp. 5, 6, 8, etc.).

1655. safely. But at present there is noe hope of concealment, the talke is soe vniuersall. I much feare the issue, considering these particular accidents. The ports are very narrowly watched. Wee heare not yet of any come from you into these parts, but its like your company will moulder apace. The death of my lo. Chandos^a is very sad at this tyme. The *D^r* knew of all the progresse of this busines divers dayes since, yet I beleeeve it was not from *Court*. I shall be very carefull of your commands, and desire if you will please to signifie if you have any doubt of Lake (?), that any thing takes wynde from him; for I know he vnderstands very much, and I have a part of it, and there is hardly any that act but call with him if they passe here, and I doe not observe that he communicates but warily. This I thought fit to offer vnto you in regard of my owne observacions. I heare Newport^b hath written to the States that Cr[omwell] hath stopt vpp all passages to Whitehall but by the foregate. I pray for the successe of those endeavours whereon soe much depends and wish *your sonnes lettres* may be the messenger of *good* . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANÉ.

LORD HATTON.

Sir,

22.

Paris, 5^{to} Martij, 1654.

f. 70. . . . I do not wonder that nether *Lo. Percy* nor *Lo. Jermyn* or any of the *Palais Royall* write any newes, when I see heere how much they profess an antipathy to the *Kings Court*. Nor are you to take measure by there being obliged vnto the *King*, but consider that those who choose such persons to oblige shall reape noe other crop. Beleeve me, Sir, whilst such persons are obliged and cling together

^a George Bruges or Brydges, 6th baron, who died in Feb. of smallpox.

^b Nieuport, the Dutch ambassador in England.

and Honest men have the maxime to stand single and be premieres ministres, the ill persons conioyned shall prevaile and the Honest whilst single shall in the end perish fruitless to vs. Be sure *Lo. Culpeper* wants noe intelligence hence, nor shall *Lo. Gerrard* nor *D^r Fra[ser]*, and all letters from *the King* are much vndervalued longer then when he thunders. If *Mason* be the correspondent, you may easily ghesse the affections he holds intelligence with. Boswell is long since gon hence, and I writ you word of itt he was at Calais; where now, I know not, but doubt not it may be att London, if he please. All people heere disauow the least knowledge of the D. of Buck[ingham]s ^a iorney or grounds. Wee heere as yet of noe ill that betides him. His Gallant Father would neuer haue run these wayes. I receaue all yours constantly and faile not to send mine by the address you gaue me. Since it is not thought fitt that the Ben[edictines] nor F[ather] Bar[ton] be encouraged, I can forbear, but not without noting that our opinions heere are thought little worth, when vpon the place wee see the advantage of such a poore thing, and those there cannot, I am sure, give vs soe good reason for the contrary. I did not presume to advise it singly, nor for any affection of mine to the parties, but in earnest thought it soe little and soe fitt that I had bin almost persuaded to say something to them without writing; but I thank God I forbore, and shall doe much more heereafter. I had noe ayme but the K's seruice, and in short my duty is discharged when I propose. I ought to aquiesce in all refusalls. I thinke (excluding your selfe) I find with others a contradictory spirit to my motions, and shall conclude soe, if my chiefe one by *Mar[quis] Or[mond]* be refused. I am sure *the Kings* letter to *Mr. Scott* ^b was as reasonable when I moued it as when *Sir G. Ratclif* proposed it; yett he preuailed, and I was refused vpon a reason that stood not in his

^a Jamot said he recognised him on board the boat crossing the channel and learnt from him that he had a pass from Cromwell (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 22).

^b See in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 18.

1655. way. I am gladd you haue by other hands heard of *Mr. Griffiths* seruice in the late bussines of the *Du[ke] of Glo[ucester]*. I assure you, deere *Mr. Secretary*, I shall neuer be biased in the K^s or my frends bussines, and had I not bin an eye witness of *Mr. Griffiths* seruice I should haue held my tongue. When I though[t] otherwise, I said soe, and shall euer take that liberty without arrogating to my selfe an Infalibility. And it need not haue bin said of me att *Cologne* that I had need of much Rhetorick to perswade that *Mr. Griffith* was honest or *Mr. Louell* otherwise. I haue said nothing, nor euer shall, that shall not be made good more by truth then Rhetorick, and shall euer boast of a true hart more then a nimble tongue or pen (which perhaps I could haue much better, if I listed or affected itt, and which I haue seene often doe as much disseruice as seruice in a lord I could name). I can be as seemingly wise as another and refraine much of the freedome of vse in my letters, but I will practise that on persons I will keepe at greater distance from my hard (*sc.* heart) then your selfe.

I am very sad at the *ill newes from Scotland*, of which some heere talke with ioy. There is one *Mowbray*^a if possible more pestilent of his tongue then euer, but a favorite in high degree att *Pallais Royall*. I doubt not but his letters walkes to *Cologne* att the same rate his tongue does heere. I pray God speed all his Maties good designes, and if all were as well pleased as I, when they know not the particulars, wee should sooner see the effect of them. In earnest, Sir, they write of them from *Collogne* and *London* like madmen, and there correspondents heere spread them as fast, and, which more angers me, honest men that I dare say would hazard to advance them. What I writ to you in my last of the French Embassadors arriuall heere I receaued soe confidently from *Sir G. Rat[cliffe]*, who assured me he spake with one who saw him, that I thought I might write it ; but I must reuoke. As for the peace, I

* The same probably as the "Mr. Mowbra" in whose favour Lord Balcarras wrote to the King on 23 Apr. (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 34).

agree wholly with you it will ether be none or farr from a firme one; it is said att the French Court they expect not the conclusion these 4 monthes. I am glad to heare *Du. Glo.* is well, but I assure you I have soe little correspondence with any about him or kindness from them that, though his Ma^{tie} hath thanked me for *Du. Glo.* entertainment heere, I haue not had directly or indirectly a remembrance from *Du. Glo.* since he went, for which I blame not him att all. I am glad *Mar. Orm.* is arriued, for I hope a dispatch to my bussines, wherein if I faile I am the first that haue soe done in 3 such hands with such a Maister, and shall attribute it to my Fate and make a finall retreat. I wonder you should desire to know from hence *Mr. H. Bennetts businesse* in your parts. I haue two great taskes, to belecue *Sir Ed. Hyde* knowes it not and that he should not tell it *Secretarie Nicholas*; but the latter I doe belecue, and that induceth me rather to belecue the other then to doubt itt. *Pallais Royall* much contemne *Mr. Bennett* for his delay, but I doubt not but he is soe discreete he knowes how to render an account to those he owes itt. *Sir G. Ratt[cliffe]*, who knowes much and sayes noe less, tells vs *Mr. Bennett* comes to you to know what shall become of *Du. Yorke* in case the treaty be concluded, as likewise to allter diuers things in *Du. Yorke*s martiall *Commission*, which must be vnknowne to *Sir Jo. Berkeley*, but I am confident nothing shall be unknowne to him whilst he is about him. I beseech God bless *Du. Yorke*, but in such hands neuer was such a *Prince*. I would it were thought equall to the gaining of his owne for the *King* to conserue his bretheren such as they be to him in their owne sweet nature. The effects will be found within few yeeres, if not timely looked into

I am, Sir, your owne,
S. S.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 5 Marcij, 1655.

f. 72. Wee have heere little other discourse but of the Kings motion from Cologne, all concludinge him gone for England. And Bevermineke the Amb. concluded it vpon the reason that he had seene a booke in England which propounded the Kings marryage with Cr[omwells] daughtre and there on to be restored and Cr. to have Ireland; and this the statesman thought probable for Cr. to call him in. And since I have beene told by some pretenders to the politiques that the booke was seriously observed by some amonge vs. There was noe avoyding of the coniectures of men, and I forbore to visit some persons for a day or two to avoyd the entring into y^t busines, the report being soe stronge. . . . The prints of this weeke speake of Cr. sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and reveling the plott to them and that the day of a generall rising was to be on Tuesday was sevenight, the day he spake to them, wherein he seemes to have too lowe an intelligence of the tyme, which had beene putt over. The conclusion was to list fower new regiments and seize all the horses about the towne. There is a great impression made vpon the people here, some in much apprehension, others doubting and wondring, having not an imagination of a possibilyty of any strength for the King in England, and there is a report this day that the King was come to Dunkirke and returned because the plott was discovered. If it were noe better layed then soe that it stood on soe few men, there was little hope of its successe, and certainly, if there be not some attempte, the mischeife wilbe very great on many. I heard last weeke the day was putt over till Wensday last; what it produced wee must expect. I was told that the French Amb. that was comyng over was not permitted by Cr[omwell]. I am advertised that S^r Walter Vane wrote a lettre that the report was in England that the King was at Dunkirke and the D. of Yorke at Callis, and

this is the ground of an inference that the Kings Councells are discovered, though it be plaine enough that a coniecture might cause such a report and others enlarge it. And I was told confidently that a lettre was written from Anwerpe fortnight since that the King was to come from Colen for England; but I finde some are well pleased with the newes of any miscarriage, because they like not the actors. In this lettre of S^r W. Vane I heare not any mention of the prisoners at Dover,^a nor in the books of this weeke any more then formerly. I have not at present any apprehension of service by the Dutch to Cromwell, and I finde it to be the iudgment of the best here. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 9 Mar., 1655.

. . . . Wee have had a long tyme heard of the opposition of f. 78. Hull to receive a garrison, and one tells me this day that the mayors sonne of the towne, that came thence Satterday was sevenight, reports that it was kept still and that his father said they had gone soe farr that they could not goe back. Another report is that a shipp commyng thence Thursday heard the ordnance goe of, and thought it was vpon declaring for the King. What credit it deserves I cannot iudge, knowing not the men, but its said that the party prevayling therein is Independant. Another lettre hath it that Bristoll is likewise declared, but that is by Presbiterians, and that its expected y^t 25 of the shippes will declare. They say that ships ply of and on about Dunkirk. There are severall lettres that speake of the release of the prisoners in Dover that went over . . .

^a Daniel O'Niell (under the pseudonym of Bryan) and Nich. Armorer were arrested at Dover, but contrived to escape (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 20, 21).

1655. I heard that a shipp touching at Yarmouth or Colchester, I remember not which, certainly reports that the customer there on Thursday last told him there were great stirrs in London and that Cr[omwell] had fortified the tower. He spake likewise that S^r Raffe Hare^a was taken vpp. If they are not yet vpp, I beleeeve many more will spedily, if not already. I heare *Lo. Ger[ard]* was at Dort, *E[arl of] Roch[ester]* gone. The P[rincess] R[oyal] had a lettre from the K. Friday, another this day; whence dated or what they import is not knowen heer

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

23.

Paris, 12 Martij, 1655.

f. 81. Upon my life and saluation I haue writt steddily to you, saue only when I haue advertised the contrary, and, if I haue failed in numbring, it is but once, vpon my faith. Your good assurance concerning the payment of M^r Scotts money is noe more then needs, for he presseth like a Marchant with a Marchant as vpon me and is calmer to others, thinking I neglected to represent him to the Court, which he conceaves others did by the acknowledging of itt thence in the K^s letter, which he thinks I omitted to gett for him. The K^s motion startles vs all; wee doubt not but it is well grounded, but, in truth, that and all the appurtenance is soe freely talked on at *Pall. Royall*, and soe much wee haue seene heere of there words proue true (which from Colloigne was slided) that silence towards men and prayers to God best becomes vs. But, Sir, I wonder you should suppose his Ma^{ty} back a fortnight hence, when other letters from thence cleerely say he is noe more to be looked for there, vnless forced back. Truly, Sir, I noe more looke for him

^a Sir Ralph Hare, of Stow Bardolph, co. Norf., cr. bart. in 1641; M.P. for Norfolk in 1654 and 1661.

there then I doe for any thing I moue for at Court. My success makes me attribute it to fate, not to want of friends, since I beleue I have as good as any are there, and yett I see others of less merrit then myselfe, as I may modestly think, and a much lower stock of friends preuaile in less modest requests in Court. I confess, Sir, I rest very vnsatisfied and that with reason. That *Mar. Ormond* should invite me to employ him on my behalfe and write me word how faithfully and effectually he would fauor me and then att his arriuall at *Cologne*, when Mr. Scots bussines brought me to his remembrance, to pass ouer all that concerned my selfe as soe inconsiderable, is that I vnderstand not. My bussines required not soe many words as that of Mr. Scotts, and had he sent me an account of that, ether affirmatiue or negatiue, allthough he had cast Mr Scots bussines on my owne hands to discharge, I should haue taken itt as a testimony of his frendship, for I see little value that in comparason of the other that, if Mr. Scott would haue taken my halfe of the summe, I would haue laid it down rather then haue writt one line thereof to the Court. For, when I saw that, I hauing found out the money, preuailed for it and laied att stake for itt, soe little care was taken as not to send to Mr. Webster to accept the Bill (which *Mar. Ormond* and *Sr G. Ratcliffe* vndertooke), I did hope to gett off for my share and make noe words. What was sayed to me att the first vndertaking that seruice I know well and comparing the euent makes me think of him who in danger att sea vowed a candle to our Lady as bigg as the mast, but after, being checked by a frend for his great offer, replied it was noe matter what he vowed in the Tempest, since, if he gott safe to land, one of ten in the pound should serue. If I had asked money or moneys worth, I might well haue brooked a repulse; but, in truth, I see little expected a neglect of my motion that I looked for thanks for itt. I confess I ill brooked the account concerning the *viscountship*, since, God knowes, it was not vanity put me vpon itt, put (sc. but) a faire advantage in *my sonnes* marriage. And to be put off with such a flim! I durst neuer tell them, put rather

1655.

1655. chose to break itt off. I tooke ill especially, when I knew, contrary to my answers, *my Lady Shannons*^a passed about the same tyme and that by the strength of a *groome of the Chamber*, who, I am very sure, would haue dispatched mine if I would haue gon that way, as I haue prooffe for in greater matters. When then I asked noe new thing nor preiudiciall, for it concerned me most to be secret, to be answered it could not be because of keeping off importunities (where none need haue knowne it), it was hard.^a . . .

And because I will not be to rash, I will expect some weekes and intreat you that, when his Ma^{ty} is in a place of safety that you haue intercourse by letters, that you will with all warines of my person for miscarriage of letters lett *Mar. Or[mond]* know I entreated you to call vpon him for an account of my particular bussines recommended through his hands vnto his Ma^{ty}, which I did by letter to his Lo^p then at Antwerp, for I will sound the bottom, that I may not be another tyme mistaken and to the end that where I find my selfe failed I may not rely again. I pray keepe this letter to your selfe. I haue to *S^r E. H.* expressed a sence of *Mar. Orm.* omitting my bussines, but that is all. I assure you *S^r G. Rat.* knowes much of *Marq. O.* wayes, and wee know the more by that. And, vpon my word, to much hath bin and is att present talked on concerning your court affaires. Belceve me, Sr, I take vp noe trash, nor vpon any credit but the event. I did meane (462) *S^r Jo. Berkeley* and not (562) *Lo. Muskery* to haue the interest in *Du. Yorke*, and if you consider that he is vnder the wing of *the Queene* and that he is told that *S^r Jo. Berk.* being kept about him by *the King* (who would remoue him, if he thought ill of him) and dayly recommended to him by *the Queene*, and that it is only *S^r E. H.* ill will to *S^r Jo. Berk.* that clouds him with *the King*, who otherwise would thinke well of him, and that *the*

^a No such title at this time is noticed in the Peerages; but Francis Boyle, fourth son of Richard, Earl of Cork, was cr. Viscount Shannon in 1660. His wife (m. 1638, d. 1681) was Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Robert Killigrew; she had a dau. by Charles II., who became Countess of Yarmouth.

King doth not communicate his pleasure to *Du. Yorke* concerning that and other things, you would not wonder to see what greatnes he enioyes, but lament with vs what he is like to enioy, if the tide turne. Beleeue me, he is a great man with his M^r and he will answere nothing without him, and then you may imagin who stands ill enough with *Du. Yorke*. As for *Mr. Bennet*, he is happy that by *Mar. Or.* and *S^r Ed. H.* sudden favor he is soe well with *the King*, whilst he suffers nothing att *Pallais Royall* but seeming neglect of *S^r Jo. Berk.* I heere the *Lord Balcarris* is traitting with the Huguenotes to begg a small summ of them in *the Kings name* by the approbation of the *Pallais Royall*, to further which *Lo. Jermyn* and *S^r Jo. Berk.* ply Charenton hard and send before to haue the Ambassadors pew kept for them.

My *sonne* is now goeing, hauing bin stayed to little purpose, since it hath bin only to see my little interrest at *Court*, and it is tyme now to looke after our particulars, when wee are soe mesprised elsewhere. He will not forgett your seruice nor *the Kings*, though it cost our liues after our fortunes. *S^r Spencer Compton* desires to be remembred to you and is very hartily yours. I belecue [he] repents his iorney hither, as being soe much out of the way. I am, to confess truly to you, in some disorder att this passage to me of *Mar. Ormond*, but as I haue cause I am and will euer be,

Your owne,

S. S.

I beseech you in what may be imparted of the safety of his Maties person and prosperity in his iorney, where noe secret may be violated, fauor me with the partaking thereof, who am in great agony for his person, on which I cast all my content in this life and concernes vs all deeply. *S^r Jo. Berkeley* did yesterday speake to a French captaine to be ready with a frigate to transport *Du. Yorke* into *England*. The newes of the Peace with *England* cooles heere, and I heare these people wish now they had not advanced soe farr.

f. 83.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT H^{ble},

Hage, 12 Marcij, 1655.

. . . . Cr[omwell] hath of late written to his frinds Opdam and Bevernineck touching shippes, and they mett at Amsterdam and in the absence of the Pensioner moved the burgomasters of it, but they would not enter into any engagement. This was by private communication and, that not succeeding, they have essayed to have the preparacion of a fleete vnder pretence of assayling the Portugall; but some of the townes suspecting the intention began to formalise. They are now in the Vergadering, and I hope to hear somewhat of the resolutions. I shall not faile to get all that my means will atteyne vnto. I was told this day that there was a resolution by the Dutch to send 40 shippes to Cr. ; but it came from 114 (*Lord Culpeper*), and the credit of that testimony you have had experience of. Another told me that it was certain Cr. had sent for Blake with his fleete, and this had an author that is likely to know much. *Her fleet and his lady are here.* I spake with *her*, who told me that, if many came from Colen, they would be taken notice of here and have notice to withdrawe, and that some of the *States* had said that, if *D. Gloucester* did come with the *Princesse*, it would cause them to take notice of it ; but this I take to be some of theould fourbs, to keepe of the opinion of such as cann hurt their interest. But there hapned another discourse touching him *that was in Dover*, and I found there was great complaint that one havinge knowledge of the endeavour for his *delivery* had spread the report of his *beinge* there, which gave much trouble. The man was *Th. Howard*, and he beinge prest with it said he understood it by a lettre of *y^e Doctor*, which besides the falshood gave the good man great trouble. . . .

Your honors humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

. . . . I vnderstand the old Pr[incess] Dowager hath brought a revision against the fortune of the Pr[incess] R[oyal], but all

these things depend on our successe. . . . One of their bookes 1635.
 sayes that from Bristoll it was written that the D. of Yorke was
 landed, and thereon the booke concludes it was likely to be a
 cavalier plott. Whether this be a maske or else they have not all
 I cannot determyne, but sure delay cannot be profitable.

DANIEL O'NEILL TO CHARLES II.^a

SIR,

London, 8 March, 1634.

After I receiued your orders to compound for your debts I made f. 74.
 all the haste conveniently I could hither, where I found all your
 accounts and busines in such disorder by the absence of some
 of your friends and the restraint of others who are bound for
 you and y^e dispaire of those you addressed me to, whom I found
 strong in the same perswasion they writt to you, that M^r Ambrose
 (*Nic. Armorer*) and I began to thinke there was no good to be
 don, and that it was fitter to returne to our homes then spend
 mency when we could do you no service. M^r Arvile (*Sir Tho.*
Armstrong) dissuaded me from this resolution and told me there
 was great disposition in your Creditors to compound and at an
 easy rate, if I would take upon me to haue your authority, which
 he beleeued none would question or desire to see. I told him that
 would be hazarded, and sent him to assure those he knew of my
 coming and y^e power I had. That very day I spake with half a
 score, who [agreed] with great cheerfulness to take 2^{sh} in the
 pound rather then you should continue a banished man; but
 how to deale with Mr. Humely,^b whose consent was most neces-

^a This and the following letter are copies by John Nicholas, endorsed "Mr. Bryans
 lettres to Mr. Jackson of the 8th and 9th of Mar. st. ret. 1634," Bryan and Jackson
 being pseudonyms for O'Neill and the King. They are no doubt the letters alluded
 to by Ormonde in letters to Hyde and Nicholas of 30 Mar. (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*,
 iii. p. 26, and below, p. 238). The italicised names in brackets are Nicholas's interlined
 decipherings.

^b This name is not deciphered. On the analogy of the other pseudonyms it must
 designate a person or place beginning with H.

1655. sary, I could not devise. Mr. Wroth (*Lo. Willoughby*) his friend being of late (by reason of some differences with those entrusted by you here) not very forward to meddle, vnto him I employed Mr. Ambrose (*N. Armorer*), whom I thought upon the score of their old Friendship would prevail with him. Before he could bring me his answer Clew (*Compton*) was sent from his partners to me to tell me they would assist me in all they could, though they beleueed little good would be don. I told him of the - disposition I found in those I spoke with, and that I doubted not with their assistance the composition would be moderated, for Blacke (*Mr. Booth*) would vndertake to bring Catting (*Cheshire*) to reason, so would Mr Fowell (*Fairfax*) honest Mr Yardford (*Yorkshire*) his cousin, and Willings (*y^e West*) would do as the rest, and St Owin (*Shrewsbury*) would be as forward as any, and that Mr Stow (*S^r Rob. Sherley*) would give good example to all. With this he returned very well satisfied; but before I could heare from him againe, or Mr Ambrose (*Ni. Armorer*) bring me the answer of Mr Wroth (*Lo. Willoughby*), as God would have it, Mr Rothall (*Ea. Rochester*) came to towne with your authority, which gave such life to the busines that in fve dayes, which was the whole tyme of his stay here, we brought all your creditors to such a composition as we hope will not displease you. Mr Willings (*y^e West*), Mr Newet (*y^e North*), Mr Catting (*Cheshire*), and Mr St Owin (*Shrewsbury*) promise to receiue satisfaction as this day, the rest soone after. I had almost forgot to tell you that your most faithfull servant Knoply (*Kent*) is not able to serve you for the present, so that the money which he should furnish must be supplied some other where. The reason Knoply (*Kent*) is so disabled is because most of Mr Axfords (*y^e Army*) Family liues with him. Mr Catz (*Cromwell*) sent them thither, hearing that Mr Kinsford (*King*) pretended to be his heyre. If you be remembred, I did long since tell you that poore man would be made onseruiceable to you, if the resolution I left Kinsford (*y^e King*) in were put in execution, a resolution not owned by any of his friends here; now

its past blaming you or him. By the poste I shall write to you, if I finde there be more liberty and safety for letters then there has been since the discouery of the Plots. In the meane time, since that you are there, do not you stirre untill you heare further from me. Mr Rothall (*Eu. Rochester*) is gon to Yates (*Yorke*), his owne house. He was in such haste to go home that he could not write to you, which he prayes you to pardon him for. He assures me he will secure Mr Fowell (*Lo. Fairfax*) for any engagement he shall make in your behalf. I must confesse Mr Rothall (*Eu. Rochester*) was the next best you could authorise to deale with your creditors, but there were many that did not like him, which I prevailed with to make no unreasonable exception; there were others that wondred Mr Ofeild (*Ormond*) had not the charge the other had to treate, for he would haue been more authentique, and said to, that, if he had been here when he was expected, which was two moneths ago, in all liklyhood you might haue been at home with your wife and children now peaceably. But I gave them reasons that satisfied them more then my selfe; but I hope all is well. Some dayes before I came to my house at Dapping (*Douer*) there was Mr Billing (*D. Buckingham*) come from Fitham (*France*). There one of Mr Corfs (*Cromwells*) men met him; they stayed six howers together. I do belecue their meeting was not for your advantage. Soone after they parted Mr Billing (*D. Buck.*) returned from whence he came. The man that makes this good intelligence between them is Mr Juxleys (*Lo. Jermyns*) Clerke with the redd head. You know him; he is a poet and a malicious enemy of yours.* I desire you not to be startled at what all your best friends assure me, and so they haue Mr Rothall (*Roch.*) too, who prayed me to acquaint you with it. It is that one you trusted very much here, especially in your correspondence with my Lady Bise (*Biron*)—he is Mr Kilburgs (*Kings*) man—has betrayed all your accounts to Mr Corf (*Cromwell*), who opposes much your

* He probably means Abraham Cowley (vol. i. p. 219).

1655. returne and composition. You are infinitely prejudiced by this, as I am informed. He not be positive that this is true; but sure I am that one of the best friends Mr Corf (*Cromwell*) has assures it your friends. By the Skipper that brings you this, if you returne the flax and Rhenish wyne, it will bee well, for the last wilbe a very good commodity here. Summer is comming on, and I am assured the French will not agree with us, now they finde we are engaged against the Spanyard in the West Indys. I never expected from that inconstant Nation better dealing. Mr Wroth (*Lo. Willoughby*) presents his service to you. He sayes Mr Ward (*S^r W^m Waller*) and his partner Mons. Bursett (*Ma. Graill Browne*) will make a good stock to joyne with you in your proposition. He is gon to Laford (*Lincolnesh.*) to take possession of some land he has bought there. Mr Rothall (*Rock.*) obliged me to stay here untill our busines bee perfected, which I hope will shortly be, if there be any faith in men. You cannot well send to me, because I cannot direct you whether you should send your letters. I beseech God blesse you and preserue you. I pray you beleue noe man is readier to hazard life and fortune for you then

Yours, etc.

P.S. Since I writt thus farr I haue found a way that you may send to me by the Post after you receiue this. Write in your owne hand, for its the least knowne here. I am assured by an expresse from Newett (*the North*) that Fowell (*Lo. Fairfax*) is very hearty in your busines. I returned him all the thankes and assurance I could that he should be no looser. If that be so, as the Poet said,

If this day thriue, weele ride in Coaches;

If not, bonnes noches.

Mr. Wroth (*Lo. Willoughby*) would have Mr. Rothall (*Rock.*) get him some fine Diaper (*Declaracion*); he was willing to content him. I told him he ought to buy none here, and that you had good acquaintance in Holland, and his best course would be to leaue it to you. It is a commodity much desired here by all sorts,

but they haue such nonsensicall conceipts that there is some impossibility to please their humours. The old fellow of Eldom (*Ely*) was here and returned as positiue as ever. Mr. Plume (*S^r Thomas Peyton*) is one of the discreetest and affectionatest friends I found you haue here. He is infinitely troubled at the misfortune of your servant Knoply (*Kent*). He was with me yesternight, and told me he was not out of hope to make him yet come off with a considerable summe towards your composition. I pray you let me know what directions you haue sent to your Factor at Paris and Mr. Youthy (*D. Yorke*). It were not amisse, now that we are reddey to breake with that Country, that you giue order they remoue from thence your stock, or to leave them at their owne liberty when they shall thinke fitt to remoue. It were not amisse, if they gott liberty for Mr. Jones (*the Irishe*) to leave the Monsieur ; hee hath served too long there, and he wilbe a most usefull servant to you when you come home. There is one Sadler (*Seamor*) that was lately with you that made such indiscreete discourses since his returne that, if by good fortune most of your Creditors were not compounded with before he came, its likely they would haue kept at a greater distance then they haue done. For Gods sake, beware of such loose tongues untill your busines be past their spoiling it. Mr. Thomas, who will deliver you this, will tell you how you may send. If the fatt fellow^a be with you, I hope he will not complaine I write short letters. God blesse you.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

GOOD COSEN,

London, 9 of March, 1654.

I did ever belecue your impatience would bring more inconvenience upon your busines then you would belecue. Your

^a Hyde, who says of himself that the Queen-Mother of France at a court masque asked "who that fat man was" (*Hist.*, v. p. 352). So too Sir R. Grenville to R. Long, "So fatte a Hyde ought to be well tanned" (*Lister*, iii. p. 72).

1655. comming so neere makes all your Creditors belecue you are so desirous to returne that you will giue five shillings in the pound rather then stay abroad one yeare more, soe that those who would take two in the pound demand now five and six, which comes to such a summe that many of your friends belecue they cannot serue you at present. However, I hope something wilbe don, if we can get in the moneys due to you soone, for most of your Creditors want money as well as wee, and I am assured, if they see ready money, they wilbe brought to their old temper. I have sent Mr. Rothall (*Rech.*) to Yardford (*York*), Mr. Wroth (*Willoughby*) to La'ord, (*Lincolnesh.*) and Blacke (*Booth*) to Cutting (*Cheshire*), to call in for your money and sell the cattle. They all promised to haue done their busines the 8th, which was yesterday, and that I should haue news of them to send to you by the next poste. You need not doubt of their diligence, they being all engaged for you. There is one gon to Wellings (*y^e West*), and another to St Owin (*Shrewsbury*), to dispose of the plate and the hangings; all must be turned into money, and little enough. I am assured Mr. Fowell (*Lo. Fairfax*) is very hearty in your busines; if so, your composition will haue little rubb, for he hath great credit with most of your Creditors. Mr. Catz (*Cromwell*) has oppressed your servant Knoply (*Kent*) so, that I doubt me it wilbe a great while before he can pay any money. There is one Sadler (*Seamor*) who was lately with you that hath done you infinite prejudice since his returne hither. He giues out that Mr. Ofeild (*Ormond*) told him that Hurter had no commission from you to call in your debts, that he is but a Mountebanke, and none is to deale for your debts but he. He has already hindred 500^{li}, which should haue been given in to Mr. Hurter, which would stop many a gapp now, it may be more then 2000^{li} will at another time. I hope you will beware of giving more of those Commissions, or employing persons of light humours and tongues. I shall send to his Brother, to haue him order him other wayes then he doth himselfe. I haue sent by a Dutchman of Disseldorp, an honnest man of my acquaintance, a

copy of all your accounts ; they were too bigg to send by the poste. 1655.
 He assured me he wilbe there, if he be not stopt at Dover, before
 this poste, but I doubt he will not. I pray you tell Mr. Ofeild
 (*Ormond*) I would haue sent his two eldest boyes to his vncle in
 Gloucestershire, but they would not ; they said it was too melan-
 choly a place, and where they would haue nothing to doe. I liked
 so well their reasons, that I forebore pressing them further. I haue
 directed your partner Mr. Thomas where to send to me. Let me
 heare from you by the next ; in the meane time God keepe you.
 I am

Yours, etc.

HEER VAN SOMMELSDIJK.

MONSIEUR,

De la Haye, ce 18 de Mars a Sept heures du soir, 1655.

. . . . Il est certain que ny les lettres du S^r de Bordeaux ny f. 85.
 aussi celles de Nieuport ne donnent à cognoistre que rien ce mette
 en train de souleuement, ny aussi que Cromwel relasche ; car tous
 deux escriuent qu'il est apres pour faire vne nouuelle chambre de
 Justice pour prendre cognoissance et iuger du crime des personnes
 qu'il a faict saisir à l'occasion de ceste conspiration. Et pour le
 Traicté entre la France et l'Angleterre, i'ay veu de mes propres
 yeux que le S^r de Bordeaux escript qu'il le tient pour asseurement
 rompu, puisque Cromwel refuse tout à plat que l'article y soit inseré
 par lequel il luy seroit defendu d'assister directement ou indirecte-
 ment les Ennemis ou Rebelles de la France. Mais d'autant que
 Cromwel ne faict point de difficulté de le promettre de bouche, ie
 iuge que lors qu'il voyra que les Francois ne s'en voudront con-
 tenter, qu'il relaschera à le donner par escript. Et parainsi, tout
 au contraire du S^r de Bordeaux, ie croy l'accommodement entre
 ces deux nations plus pres qu'il n'a pas encores esté. Le mesme
 S^r faict aussi scauoir que la Ratification de celuy de Portugal est
 venue, mais avec des restrictions qui sont pour y apporter encores

1655. beaucoup d'aceroches. Et par tout ceci vous voyes qu'il y a vng peu de bien et beaucoup de mal à attendre de vos Quartiers, et pour ce subiect nos Libertins en paroissent aussi plus animés.

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant seruiteur,
C. D'AERSEN DE SOMMELSDYCK.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 19 Marcij, 1655.

f. 88. Its said Harrison and they that were sent for with him are sent to severall custodyes, Pendenys, Portsmouth and the Isle of Weight. I was with 613 [*Sommelsdijk*] and interpreter. I beleeve the post will give you an answer. I found that the treaty with France and Cr[omwell] was as good as broken, Cr. propounding an expulsion of the King and refusing to deny ayde to Spaine, which the French pressed, as vnequall. Cr. made great shewe of kindnes afterwards and offred faire promises, but would not putt it into the treaty; and it must necessarily be contrary to his interest to enter into such an engagement. Wee heard of thescape from *Dover*, which 613 [*Sommelsdijk*] heard not of nor of *taking*, but was well pleased to heare it, collecting hopes from it and by somewhat els I told him, y^t the *designe was not yet defeated*. All that wee cann doe is our prayers. Many here thinke the *K's in England*, and this is collected for y^t *noe lettre hath come to Pr^{ce} of late*. Its said they of Holland have had an expresse of late; theeffect is not knowen, but yesterday its all [over] the towne that they have sent a lettre to the pr[incess] R[oyal] that there was a report the King was at Tyling, which they did not beleeve, but advised that, if shee perceived the Kings inclination that way, shee should divert him.^a Its like some desire

^a For this letter see *Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 266.

to shew much officiousnes to Cr.; others have a very contemptible opinion of any vndertaking for the King and count all that hath beene talkt of already frustrate, and would have it beleevd the King seeks some where to hide himselfe, as one told me that it was confidently beleevd that the King tooke an occasion of a journey to dissolve his househould, which I said might have beene done without soe much noyse as thei had made. The preacher Lotius had a lettre which is much talked of in towne, and that told us there were fower townes declared against Cromwell, Hull, Newcastle, Lynn, and Exeter. Whence it came noe man tells, and therefore it goes vnder the credit of common newes. Severall persons that come out of England speake of the publique discontents and talks against Cr, and one told me that it was a good signe there that the Cavalier party were very silent. I much wonder their printed booke sayes the King is yet at Cologne, for it is impossible the governours can be ignorant of it; perhaps they may feare the encoragement of others by the report. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

20 March, 55.

I have yours of the 16 and doe hope, though it bee now late and the leters must goe into the post-howse to-night, that you will have with this the leter you desire from the King. But though those princes bee punctuall in their expectations of compliments of that nature, yet meethinkes the maner of the Kings remooue and residence since might euen with them bee a full excuse for the omission, when at an other time it shall bee pleaded. I must now presume that M^r Lloyd^a is vpon his iurny and that not only any leter I can

^a Hyde (*cf. Cl. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 28), who was going from Cologne to Breda. For Ormonde's letter to him of 13 Mar. see *op. cit.*, p. 23.

1655. now send, but that that I writ to him of the 13, will come to late ; in which case I hope you haue opened it, that so you may haue the contents of it before you finde it in one of mine of the 16, which I writ to you by the Kings comand, suposeing hee might haue held his first designed day of remooue. Wee are yet no further instructed in our busines then by yours I finde you are, and yet it is almost a month since wee left you and aboue 15 days since Mr. Symonds^a ariued within litle more then a days iurny to Colloigne (*London*). Mr. North (*Blag*) in a leter of his from Paris of a month old was tould that my Lord Jermyn was assured by a Frenchman that my lord of Buckingham had bin at London, was very well receiued by Cromwell, and had assurance of some parte of his estate in present and hopes of the rest in time. Whether to beleue this or the other reporte perhaps is not much materiall. His Matie suposes you know already that the way of writing to him is to bee the outside to M^r William Thomas^b at the signe of the Towne of Rouen at Flusing and the inside to bee to M^r Jackson, and this way hee would haue you take, vnlesse you haue one to your sonne, by which you may send to him vnder the name of Jackson. These enclosed leters I trouble you withall, haucing no other meanes of conueaying them. You will not thinke fit to say how you come by them. I feare you will not haue the leter by this post for the Ell^{or} of Brandenburg.

Y^r very affectionat humble seruant,

J. P.^c

^a The Earl of Rochester, as appears from a letter of Manning, the spy, to Thurloe (*St. Pap.*, iii. p. 339 ; *cf. Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 23).

^b According to Manning (*loc. cit.*) this was the pseudonym of Sir John Mennes.

^c *i.e.* James Pickering, Ormonde's usual pseudonym.

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 Marcii, 1655.

. There is not any newes here but what you had in the f. 90. former; only I sawe the lettre translated that was sent the pr. Royall by the States of Holland touching the report of the Kings beinge at Tilinge, which they saie that in his discretion he neither would nor dared to doe, but it being a matter that concernes them they advise and command that shee divert him from commyng into their province and conclude against his commyng into any the lands of the Ho. Mog. generally. Mr. Oudart was with de Witt the pensioner and told him the pr. wisht him to say that shee knew not of the Kinges being at Tiling; but the anwere was, it was not enough, but whether he were in any part of the dominions. And some say there was a second lettre intended and that they would inquire her knowledge where he was. This I heare is a great trouble to her.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Teyling, $\frac{13}{22}$ March, 1655.

. Of his Ma^{ties} affaires I can say nothing at all. *Princesse* f. 91. *Royall* heares some times from him, but not of late. I beleene he is yet on this side the sea. For Dan Oneile, we beleene him here to be at liberty, which I am the rather apt to thinke true, because I haue seen a letter from London from a good hand by the last post, wherein Mr *Armorer* is mentioned to be there, and nothing sayd of the other. This letter speaks hopefully of busines, and I knowe the writer is well informed and well affected. From this place I haue nothinge of moment to acquaint you with. The States of Holland are mett.

1655. *Some dayes agoe they sent a letter to Princesse Royall vpon an opinion they had of [the] Kings being here, wherein there were very rude expressions requiring her to giue them notice if it were soe and declaring it to be against their resolutions and their treaty with Crumwell, desiring she would take care to aduertise her Brother that he should not come within the dominions of the States Generall vpon his perill. To this the Princesse hath yet made no answer, but I beleuee she will keepe the lettre well.*

Your most affectionat humble servant,
A. HUME.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

Paris, 23 Martii, 1655.

- f. 92. I nether heare nor beleue that *the Queene* gaue any such heroick answeare to *the Cardinall* as was reported in your parts. I doubt not of her princely spirit to doe that and all other such like royall actions, were it not for *Lord Jermyn*, who, beleue it, dares not offend the *Cardinalls* dogg; and such principles your friend *S^r Jo. Berk[eley]* infuseth into *Du. Yorke*. I am much more sorry that *Mar. Ormond* should not be more communicatif to you in the great bussines and render you many opportunities for your owne occasions then that their wanted opportunity for my poore bussines. There depended not much on it but to guide my selfe in my poore fortune, which is at Court I think a maxime to destroy those haue serued with loss of estates and cherish in their bosomes those that haue gott more in these tymes then without these troubles would fall to their shares. My persuation of being a calomniator by naming persons is not strongly groundd, though *S^r Ed. H[yde]* was pleased in the case of *Mr. Louell* to put it home, as he vseth to doe to his friends more then his foes, wherein I shall not imitate him.

For the letter from *the King* to Mr. Scot^a I rest abundantly 1655.
 satisfied, and you shall neuer heare more of it after I haue acknow-
 ledged you giue me to much satisfaction; for which generosity I
 rest obliged, as in many other particulars. Truly, S^r, to see the
 fashion of other folkes dealing made me indiscreete enough to
 misinterpret that. But if that money be not paid at Easter and
 he certified thereof, I doe assure you I hold it glorious enough to
 render my selfe prisoner in such a cause, and thither I must goe as
 that bussines hath bin handled. Soe many expressions before hand
 and soe little performance or care afterwards, I neuer saw. Sure I
 am, where what I did hath bin soe little valued, I may haue leaue
 to say, had not I done what I did, in humaine reason that affaire had
 bin *res infecta*. And I know very well the day after *Du. Glou.*
 came to me the *Pallais Royale* repented of their proceedings and
 said they thought it impossible I should soe expose my selfe. And
 had not I found out *Mr. Scott* as to the particular of money and
 bin bound to (*sc. too*) for it, they had wanted wherewith to moue
 out of this towne, though *Mr. Louell* had 500 pistoles and one
 hundred Jacobus ready money, which I can prooue and know when
 and where they were put into *Lo. Percys*^b hands. And *S^r G. Ratt-*
[cliffe] shewed me a letter a fortnight since writt out of England,
 which assures a considerable summe was sent out of England and
 receaued by *Mr. Louell*, enough to defray *Du. Glo.* journey. And
 this and other like things is merrit there, as it was in *Mr. Crofts* to
 refuse him, which our friends thought fitt to raille vpon and tell me
 I did my duty. I feare they may build to much vpon others
 duties. God grant it deceaue them noe more then mine hath
 done.

I see a strange course steered; God prosper all to the best. I
 doe assure you, Sir, *S^r G. Ratclif* is not ignorant of these great
 misteries and is not soe sparing as they that trust him. Noe body
 likes secrecy better then I nor excepts less at itt; but, when know-

^a See *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 18.

^b "584," so deciphered, but probably a mistake for "548," i.e. Lovell.

1655. able things are kept from friends and true secrets imparted to those of a further distance, it is nott equall; nor doe I think it true wisdome to set by old friends and take new into my bosome because they are fallen out with one of mine enemies. Thriue how it will, it is not prudence. Nor doe I beleue yet it will thriue; for, though I be not soe knowing as those our friend takes into his bosome, I am farr from thinking my selfe soe ignorant as he would persuade me I am. I can without vanity haue a better opinion of my selfe then he hath of me by his expressions. I loue plaine dealing very well, but I like when it is impartiall. I perceauce *Sr E. H.* is better at cauelling for not writing then desiring the continuance, since I think none in this towne but my selfe are left vnadvertised of his remoue. I shall not mispend his tyme. I pray God *the King* may haue noe cause to returne to *Cologne*, but I feare it much. It is, as I think in my poore capacity, a thing of infinit consequence to conceale where *the King* is. But can that be possible if *Sr Ed. H.* goe to him? Doubtless he hath more then treble spies on him, or I know nothing. I confess my haire stands an end to heare that every day to much tyme is spent at *Pallais Royal* in publick gheissing where *the King* is. Some say in *Holland*, some in *Flanders*, some in *Tyling*. Some write thence that *Mr. Bennet* is ether come to *Paris* or to *the King*. Good God, what doe these people meane? It is wonderfull what carresses are now made to *Du. Yorke* by *Lo. Jermyn*, *Sr Jo. Berkeley*, etc., and what expressions of hopes of his person, and how despicable they speake of &c. *Mr. Bennet* is not yet arriued heere. Our letters from England speakes of great calme there and of the dayly comittment of some of our party, which are often first named heere; at present *Sr John Greenville*. There hath bin some messages from *Sr Jo. Grenvilles* vncle, who is in *Holland*, vnto *Du. Yorke* concerning westernre affaires, and I haue it from a good hand *Du. Yorke* is free against *Sr E. H.* *Mr. Bennet* [is] exceedingly vndervalued by *Du. Yorke*, *Lo. Jermyn* and *Sr J. Berkeley* in publick discourse. God send vs out of these diuisions, which nothing will doe but a well

ordred vnited counsell. And let the witts think what they please, 1655.
 they will neuer draw vs out of this mire. It is nether a Pen nor a
 Harangue will doe itt; it must be mature deliberation and constant
 resolution. For, beleeeue me, single men signifie little in these
 tymes, and they who haue least interest in England will not find
 themselues considerable enough to restore them who haue the
 greatest interest. Councell, Councell vnited and resolutly pursued,
 must doe the deed or nothing. And I see a great auersion to that
 and a great inclination to single vndertakings, which will faile.
 I wish my selfe with all my hart with you now at *Cologne*, whilst
 you are alone. My last letters from England say noe peace with
 France, and I spake with an actiue man heere, one Mons^r Marsys,^a
 who acts for the D. of Yorke, who told me he saw orders for seasing
 of English ships heere in France. The Newes is heere very hott
 that the English haue take[n] Gardeloupe Isle from the French and
 are at present attacking the French plantation in S^t Christophers,
 which the Governor (heere in France at present) sayes they will
 socne take. . . .

Your most humble seruant,

S. S.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Teyling, $\frac{2}{3}$ March, 1655.

. . . . Wee haue heard nothing of that report you write of, that f. 96.
 Crumwell should be killed, nor is it like to be true, for certainly,
 if it had been done since the coming away of the last post (which

^a Apparently the M. Marcés who was attached to the French Post Office and who
 in that capacity proved very useful to the Royalist party (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p.
 460). For letters from him to Hyde and Nicholas, see also *Cal. St. Pap.*
 1658-1660; and for the King's good opinion of him Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1879, iv.
 p. 310.

1655. brought nothing of it), it would quickly haue been diuulged. I doe not hear of any aduertisement since the post, nor wes there any new thing of moment in any letter that I haue seen. Nieuport writes to the States that Crumwell upon appearance of rising in diuerse partes of the Kingdom hath sent more troupes into seuerall garrisons, such as Plimmouth, Portsmouth, and Hull; but whether they be receiued or not, the letter is not clear. Touching Fairfax's declaring for the king wee haue no letters, but haue incertain reports of it. Of the king's passage into England wee know nothing. . . . I told you in my last of the letter sent to the Princesse by the States of Holland upon a surmise of the King's being at Tyling, to which shee was by some persons much pressed to write some answer, but would by no meanes be induced to it. Only shee sent to Mr. Oudart, who wes at the Hage, and commanded him to goe to the Pensionary de Witte and assure him from her that his Matie had neither been here, nor did shee beleaue that he euer had the lest intention to come into these partes. De Witte seemed not to be well satisfied that her highnesse had not returned an ansuer in writing, but said he would make report to the assembly of what Oudart had told him. . . .

Your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. HUME.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

24.

Paris, 26 Martii, 1655.

f. 97. I perceaue now by all letters Mr. Chancelor is gon after the Game, and I pray God he may not be put to hunt counter and returne to the forme again. Our letters are all in a very calme stile out of England, and they take noe notice scarce of his Maties retreat. Some say he is att Bullen. I like their ignorance, yet I wish they were more stirred at itt. . . . Take my word for it, there be

things to much neglected, which perhaps would not be soe, if their friends were not concernd in them. I wonder to see soe little looking after the steering *Du. Yorke* and *Du. Glou.* Take my word, the present Steersmen will first repent itt, and those principles are moulding will mare the Pennes. I choose to tell it you now, not that I suppose any thing sayd from vs of the lower forme preualent enough to preuent a mischiefe, but that another day I may haue soe good a witnes of my prediction, when I shall giue you the reasons of my present confidence and knowledge. My sonne went hence on Tuesday last and is, I suppose, now at the Sea Side. Need makes trott, but contempt makes vs run on the Pikes rather then moulder away as if wee were only food for raillerie and to be scorned in the serious part. If he be prisoner there, it is noe more then I am like to be heere, for I doubt not but my next shallbe dated from the Jayle, since Mr. Scots correspondent is very fierce vpon me. Truly, had I bin told I should be soe vsed, I would haue done what I did and payed the money, for then I had an opportunity to haue done itt. But I take not this halfe soe bad as my other ill vsage, for in this I shall suffer with Honor I find my partner faint in the bussines. I know not why, vnless he will not press where he lookes for such rewards; for, as he told me many things that haue fallen out and that he should haue gone with *Marq. Ormond* if the designe had held to begin in *Yorkeshire*, soe now by my people he hath sent to haue his sonne sent to *the King*, where he sayes *Marq. Orm.* hath provided him an honourable and considerable imployment. Truly I thinke it is well done. He deserues well, and *Sir G. Rat.* hath bin very seruiceable since the beginning of *S^r Ed. Herberts* bussines; but I would haue such things done and others not abandon[ed]. I heare both monkes and Jesuits haue bin complimented by other hands heere, and in that case I am as well satisfied as if it had bin fitt when I proposed it; for truly I had noe end vpon them nor could not serue any turne of mine by them, and am very well contented to catch vp something from *S^r E. II[ydes]* weekly

1655. letters hither as to haue the honor with his trouble of *S^r F. H.* writing it to me. . . .

Your most humble seruant,

S. S.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

R^t H^{ble} SIR,

Paris, 26 Mar. 1655.

f. 99. . . . The lettre which I mentioned in my former to you was written by *King to Queene* and was talked of abroad too soone, as I thought. We here thinke y^t you at Cologne ground *your hope on weake foundation*. I haue bene amazed to heare out of severall lettres sent hither and to other places *from some* of the *King his seruants* mentioninge *that King was gon to Hull*, whereof probably *Crumwell might haue notice as soone as King* could well haue bene there. Wee heare of severall ships taken by the English from y^e French, both in the ocean and these seas and in the Mediteranean, but especially two men of warre taken nere Maiorca, commanded by two Knights of Malta, the one of 40, y^e other 26 great gunnes. Hereupon, as Mons^r Murces (who solicits y^e D. of Yorkes busines in y^e French Court) tould mee, y^t order is sent downe from hence to Provençe and towards Bayon to seize all English ships and goods. Here came newes by a small vessell sent from S^t Christophers to Diepe y^t y^e English had now lately taken one of the French Carribde Islands, called as I take it, Gardelupe, and y^t the Governour of S^t Christofers expects y^e English forces to expell him very shortly. Thus farre is advanced towards a peace. On Weddensday last was sevenight Card. Mazarine writ a round and peremptory lettre to Mons^r de Bourdeaux to conclude y^e peace or come away. This I have from a good hand. I heare not one worde of y^e Sweedes; but I heare y^t y^e French Kinge makes great preparations for y^e warre this summer, both by Sea and Land.

Cardinal de Retz writ a lettre to y^e bishops of France above two moneths agoe. It was judged seditious, and therefore order'd by y^e Lieutenant Civil to be burned by the hand of y^e Hangman ; and all men who had any copyes were ordered to bringe them in upon payne of death. Now this weeke the Lieut^t Civil is disavowed in what he did, as done on his owne head ; his decree is annulled and taken of y^e file. So wee thinke there is some treaty with Cardinall de Retz, who is thought to have great power in y^e Conclave, and shewes great respect to y^e French Kinge, however Card. Mazarine and hee shall agree, wherein he appeares to be a gentleman and sensible of his honor more then any particular animosity.

I cannot tell whether it were not too much presumption in mee to aske you, whether *Marq. Or[monde]* did reserve himselfe from *Se. Nicholas* and not acquaint him fully with this present *designe*. *S^r G. Rat.* thinkes that he has a little *interest* in *Marq. Or.*, and vpon good grounds *S^r G. Rat.* is most confident that *Mar. Or.* does both love and trust *Secr. Nicho.* except there be some very late alteration, which is not probable. I meane no harme to either party by this question. But consideringe how precious a jewell a trusty friend is, especially now, I would be glad to preserve a right understandinge betweene such as I know to be persons of honor and honesty. I have not done ill offices for *S^r Ed. Hyde* with *Marq. Orm.* ; but I would be loath that new wine should be preferred before old. I doe believe *S^r E. H.* to be very honest, and of very great vse to *King* ; onely I have had a conceipt that he was like a yonge hawke, which would not fly in ease. Perhaps I may be mistaken in that. I am sure y^t I am,

Ho^{ble} Sir, Your most humble servant,

DE COLTON.

f. 100.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT Hon^{ble},

Hage, 26 Marcii, 1655.

I mett Mr. Chancellour at Dort, who came not there till Munday in the afternone. Before his commynge Capt. Mewes came, and his disguise might have deceived one that well knew him. I beleeve he hath given you an account of his iourney and report to Mr. Chancellour, with whome he had a longe discourse. While wee were there the Lo. Taffe and Mr. Howard came, and Mr. Howard returned forthwith. L. Taffe went with the Company and soe did the Dr, Sr Ch. and myselfe to Gertrudenberghe. There went with us one Dr Duncombe,* who came for governour to Mr. Ailoffe, a nephew to Mr Ch. by his first wife. I beleeve the Dr hath good knowledge in affaires in England. I came not home till yesterday and sawe not the prints; only heare they speake of the imprisonment of Sr Jo. Grenville, and that others are secured and confined in the West, but name them not. I heare others lettres speake to the same purpose. I know not the particulers of intelligence, but perceive not any discomfortable countenance in those that have it. I wrote you that I was told your sonne was at Dort, but since I understand not where he is. Here is continuall newes of some great action or other for the Kinge, but they are but the fancyes of men that will not suffer their braynes or tounge to be at rest. The stabbinge of Cr[omwell], contest with his officers, or Fairfax declaringe are without doubt very fabulous, but there was one that very lately reported that Fairfax was in Hull and that vpon great confidence, but there is no mencion of it in the lettres that I heare of. Another came to me yesterday and told me for

* Eleazar Duncom, D.D.; prebendary of York, chaplain to Charles I., etc. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*). His pupil was George Ayliffe (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 72), whose aunt Anne, dau. of Sir George Ayliffe, Knt., of Grettenham, co. Wilts, only survived her marriage with Hyde in 1629 about six months (*Lister, Life of Clarendon*, i. p. 9).

certain that the Amb. Newport wrote to his masters here that they should be wary in their proceedings for that there was a great party against Cr., and though he were very diligent, yet he was in great perplexity, beinge not able to vnderstand what he feared, and he was the more trobled that all things were so quiett. This one affirmed with great earnestnes, but I cannot beleeve it, considering the disposition of the Amb. and the affections of his masters. There was speech that Cr. was erectinge a court of Justice, but I saw it not in the prints and knew not a ground for the report and therefore did not offer it to you. In the conference y^t 613 [*Sommelsdijk*] had with me hee seemed not to be of opinion that Cr. and the Fr[ench] would agree, in regard of his interest not to be restreyned from assisting the Spaniard . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

26 March, 1635.

. Wee had the day before yesterday leters from M^r Osely (*O'Neale*) that revivd vs very much in the hopes of our composition at Embden (*England*). Hee writes that M^r Rothall (*Ea. Rochester*) was gone to Yardford (*Yorke*), M^r Roth (*Lo. Willoughby*) to Laford (*Lynn*),^a M^r Black (*Booth*) to Catting (*Chester*), and others to Willings (*y^e West*) and S^t Owin (*Shrewsbury*) to call in for the monys and dispose of the goods, and sayd all thes promised that they would have made a faire enterance into their busines by the 8 of this Month, which was the day before hee writ. Hee says further that hee was assured Fowle (*Lo. Fairfax*) was very hearty in the busines. If but parte of this proove true, wee may bee

^a So apparently interlined, but it should be "Lincoln" (above, p. 220).

1655. redeemd and set vp our trade againe. Hee tould vs of a Dutchman by whom hee had sent fuller accoumpts, which were to bigg to bee sent by the post, but hee is not yet come. I feare hee may bee stopt by the jelousy now raging amongst them in England. You will haue heard of the mesage or rather letter sent by the States of Holland and West Frisland to the P: Royall about the King her brother. They may liue to repent their ill maner, for all but that might haue bin expected from them. Other things M^r Peeters^a will informe you of. When there is possibilitie of mony you know whether it will bee welcome and whether to send it, if wee bee not flowen before then.

Your faithfull friend,

J.A. PICKERING.

MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

30 March, 55.

f. 103. I have yours of the 23 and had hoped by this time I might have sent you some earnest of the hopes you will finde in the enclosed leters from Mr. Brian,^b which I have desired your sonne for your beter satisfaction to transcribe, that, knowing all the particulars wee doe, you may the beter iudge of the grounds of our hopes and the readilier excuse vs if wee bee disapoynted. The post which wee hoped would have brought vs this confirmation is not yet come, though for ought appeareing vs the winde has bin faire. If there should bee a generall stop of leters, perhaps it were no ill signe. I saw a leter yesterday of the 9 from Newport, the Hollands Ambassador in England, to his Masters, where, as I remember, are these particulars, that Cromwell has strengthened Hull, Portsmouth, Plimouth and some other places with companys of foote, that in the West and

^a William Peters, *i. e.* John Nicholas (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 28).

^b See above, p. 217, Brian being Dan. O'Neill.

North hee has imprisoned diuers gentlemen and confined others to their howses, that it was sayd 5000 foote would presently bee raised and comanded by the Militia of London by virtue of his Comissions, that one taken in Sussex had stabd himsel and is dead of his wounds, that whilst hee lived in their hands hee would speake nothing but Hebrew, and that Blacks Fleete was by tempest driven into Porta Langona, that there was no newse of Pen, and that Haniball Sestat^a betwext Rochester and Canterbury was robd of all hee had and even of his Eliphant. I doe not wonder they write favourably of their Protectors affaires, whos greatnes, as they have ordered it, it concerns them to keepe vp both really and in reputation. I have sent to and heard from Mr Lloyd^b since his ariveall at his owne howse, and it is possible hee and I may have a meeting within a few days. The litle expectation there is of money has as inconvenient an aspect towards vs as our fellows, if our adventure prosper not. If it [prosper], wee shall rather give then take bountys, and that may bee parte of the reason why those that should pay vs hould their hands. . . .

Your very faithfull friend

to serve you,

J. PICKERING.

^a Hannibal, Count of Seestedt, who married Christiana, natural dau. of Christian IV. of Denmark, and was Viceroy of Norway from 1611 to 1651. He then fell into disgrace with Frederick III., and was now living in exile. See letters from him to Charles II. in Thurloe, i. pp. 698-704. The "eliphant" of which he was robbed was no doubt the insignia of the Danish Order of the Elephant, of which he was made a knight in 1648. See also below, p. 319.

^b Hyde (see above, p. 225).

1655.

PERCY CHURCH.^aRIGHT HONOR^{ble}.Paris, this 2^d of Aprill, 1655.

f. 104. I safely receiued your honours $\frac{13}{23}$ of March, for which as obliged I returne my most humble thankes and with it such newes as this place affords, our Court beeing altogether in expectation of the success of his Maties affaires now in England, our letters and prints of Tuesday last bringing y^e aduise of diuers risings in seuerall Counties, as Yorkeshire, North Wales, Shropshire, and Nottinghamshire. These fower seemes not to haue bine altogether succesfull, partly by a Panique feare and partly by the marching of some Rebell troopes, which by some false brother were aduertised of the designe. But the honest Collonel S^r Joseph Wagstaffe,^a with diuers other gentlemen and officers to the number of about 300, went into Salisbury by seuerall wayes, and it beeing the day that Judge Roles^b and others came to keepe the Assises attended on by one Doue^c the High Sherife, the night following they rendenouzed and early in y^e morning they possessed themselues of the Judges and Sherife, who refusing to proclame the King, they tooke him with them. After they had performed that duty they left the Judges there, but tooke away their Commissions and horses, as all others they liked, and hauing sett at libertie all prisoners they marched at least 500 horse towards Blandford and Dochester. The newes of this at London gaue great apprehensions both to our freinds and enemyes and occasion for Crumwell and his to sitt in

^a Attached to the household of Queen Henrietta Maria (see a petition from him, 3 Sept., 1660, in *Col. St. Pap.*, p. 254). Several letters from him to Nicholas will be found in the *Col. St. Pap.*, 1658-1660.

^a See Clarendon's *History* (1849), v. p. 413.

^b Henry Rolle, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench.

^c This was the same John Dove who was in possession of Nicholas's manor of Winterbourn (vol. i. pp. 108, 109). His own view of the matter may be judged from his letter to Thurloe in the latter's *St. Pap.*, iii. p. 318.

Councell almost all that night to dispatch theire orders, amongst which one was for Collonel Dewsbrough, his brother in law, to march with his Regiment in persuit of Sr Joseph, which accordingly was performed. Another was to make a nightly search after a young tall black man called Charles Steward. Now, if by a deuertion from the other Counties hee bee not assisted, hee with the partie in all proba[bi]litie is absolutely lost and possibly the whole designe, which God of his mercy preuent.

This and some other passages will certainly retard the peace, but not (as I am informed) cause a rupture (unless seconded by some more hopefull success). Howeuer, by fresch letters from Marcellius it appeares that Ad^l Blake takes daylie French shippes, and lately two of theire men of warre commanded by Knights of Malta. Another letter to mee from Sr Richard Browne at Brest, March y^e 23th, sayes that, as some of our fregatts were goeing to sea, three English shippes of 36, 42, and 50 gunnes did in the entrance of the Bay sinck one and forced another a shoare at a place called Camarett within the Bay, where, notwithstanding the Captains putting his gunnes a shoare to defend his shipp, theise three did then continue to batter her, which hath giuen a great allarum there abouts, for they threaten to ride in and about the Bay all this summer, and the like is expected at St. Malo, for letters of the 27 current (*sic*) from thence say that six Englishe Fregatts beat too and again before that harbore. Yesterday came letters from Rouen that brings aduise of orders beeing come thether for the seasing of all Englishe shippes and goods. Other furraine newes I heare not, and as to this place all is in quietness except the French Court, which now begins to consider of preparations for the Campania, and the more because the King intends to bee in person with his Armie. His Highness y^e Duke of Yorke is still here and, as I conceive, earnestly expects his Maties orders. The Queen and Princess hath bine about this 3 weekes at her Monasterie of Challiott and returnes not till the next weeke.

As the States letter to the Princess Royall may bee wourth a

1655. remembrance, so other passages ellswhere will I hope not bee forgotten. S^r Richard Greenfields sonn is committed to Newgate upon suspition to bee of the plott against Crumwell, and strickt chardge is giuen to all ports to apprehend the old Knight if possible, in case hee endeuor a landing. The 25 past is aduised from Nantes that the Ostenders tooke fower French shippes out of St. Nazaire, a roade in y^e riuer of Nantes, vallued at 150,000 liuers. To tell your honour of his Majesties shipping or the place I presume it needless; besides I dare not, least my letter should miscary, and it ought to bee a great secrett, howeuer succesfull his Majestie should prooue, for which I shall daylie tender my most hartie prayers. As for the corispondance your honour mentions, I most humbly and willingly submit unto it, concluding my selfe to bee,

Your honours most obliged and most very humble seruant,
[PERCY CHURCH].

Your honour will not need to mention any thing hereof to Mr. Chancellor, I hauing write unto him by Antwerpe, as commanded, and so I beseech your honour to acquaint him, least my paquet should miscarie.

The print of this day beeing now come unto my hands mentions a letter^a from one Capt. Crook, dated y^e 15 past in y^e morning from South Molton, 10 or 12 miles from Tiurton in the West, and sayes that S^r Jo. Wagstaff was defeated by him after a long dispute, wherein were taken about 50 prisoners amongst whome one Liutenant Collonel called Penruddock, Jones and Groue, but Wagstaff with the rest hee confesses to haue escaped him.

The rendeuous which should haue bine at Hessam Moor fayling, many gentlemen were imprisoned at Yorke, as S^r Richard Maleuerer, S^r He. Slingsby, S^r John Goodrick, S^r Walter Vauisor, M^r Hutton,

^a This letter from Captain Unton Crook was printed as a pamphlet.

Maior Waters, and one Mr Heskett, with diuers citizens. But by 1655.
a letter that I saw Hull stands yett upon its Newtralitie.

Endorsed by Nicholas: Mr. Church.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 2 April, 1655.

. . . . I thought I had given the advise of the pr. dowagers f. 106.
revision longe since. I beleeeve it was to hold a rodd over y^e
Pr[incess] R[oyal], for it was not done vntill some 3 dayes before
the tyme would have elapsed. I beleeeve you will heare more from
C[apt.] Mewes, whoe continues here yet, but I have had noe speech
with him of what passed with Mr. Ch[ancellor]. Our newes of
England now is that the people are vpp, and the bookes that pro-
duce it in the last of their occurrents speake of the dispersing of
some. Its like they could not have very sure intelligence, but
they are yet carefull (I beleeeve) not to displease. The most
observable was that of S^r Jos. Wagstaffe, whoe came into Salisbury
with 200 horse and went away with 600, carryed away the Sheriffe,
your frinde Mr Dove, after he had knockt him for his refusall, as
some say, to proclayme the King, which himselfe afterwards did,
released all prisoners, tooke away the iudges commission, and soe
went westward. I heare not of any considerable men yet appearing,
and it seemes very strange that the Lo. Bellasis^a should stay in
London to be taken. They relate the like of Lo. Newport,^b of
whome there was not the same expectacion as of thother. Y^e
Salisbury busines was on Sunday was sevenight. There are lettres
that speake of an opinion that the King is in Hull. Some lettres
speake of an vniuersall risinge, and that London is vnquiett.

^a John Belasyse, Baron Belasyse of Worlaby, 1644, a noted Royalist.

^b Francis Newport, 2nd Baron Newport, 1650. He was committed to the Tower
on 9 June (*Cal. St. Pap.*, pp. 204, 588).

1655. I was told of a shipp of Yarmouth, y^t came thence on Munday after the lettres came from London, and he sayth the lettres sayed that Cr[omwell] was gone to Windsor and made that his head quarter and withall that he was kept out of London; but this is only skippers newes. But the man reported it before the bookes came, and saied they would not find it in the bookes, but some thinge that might induce them to beleeeve it. I could not speake with either of these, from whome I might have vnderstood how the lettres advised, but such of the men in place here y^t wish well are very ioyfull and well pleased with the newes, and commonly the Ambassadors lettres have little more then the bookes. If the busines at home cause not your lady to change her resolution, it cann hardly otherwise be denyed, and the season may make the passage not vncomfortable, especially where the iourney is desired. D^r Morley is not yet returned from Breda. My Lo. Newburge is yet at Tilinge. The pr. R. with the D. of Gl[oucester] is gone incognito to Amsterdam. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 2 April, 1655. st. no.

f. 108. . . . The English letters of this week informe us of diuerse considerable parties in seuerall partes of England risen in armes for the King, whereof I haue not yet had time to understand the particulars, and I doute not but you haue them more exactly from the fountain then wee haue them here. Niewport, as I hear, speaks slightly of it in his publick letter, but in his secret aduertisements, I am told, he doeth not so. By the next I trust in God's mercy wee shall haue fuller and better niewes, and, as you say, from God's handes alone wee must expect it and give him all

the glory, for it is a worke beyond the arme of flesh. It is also affirmed here that their is an arrest made of all English ships in France, and the warre declared against Crumwell, but of the truth of this I beleeeue you know more then wee. 1655.

On Wensday last Their Royall highnesses went priuately from Teyling to Amsterdam upon a jorney of pleasure, the Duke of Glocester going on the same day to Utrecht and purposing to come back to his sister as yesternight to Amsterdam, from whence, as her highnesse told me, shee purposeth to returne to Teyling tomorrow at night. . . . Before her highnesse went I was talking to her of the States of Holland's letter and telling her that you had heard of it and hoped shee would take care to haue it well kept, which shee bid me assure you shee would, and straight of herself told me shee would send you a copy of it, and gaue me command to write to Mr. Oudart for it, who had it at the Hage, which I did immediately and had it next day and send it you herewith. It is of your friend Mr. Oudart's owne translation, who tells me it agreeth exactly in sense with the originall, though not so elegantly clothed, as he sayeth, in English as it is in Dutch. I concurre with your judgement that her highnesse did very well to send no answer to it in writing, for the reasons you mention; and it is to be hoped that before a year goe about their Groote Mogende may come to wishe they had been as slowe to write as her highnesse wes. . . .

Your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. HUME.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

25.

Paris, 9 April, 1655.

The last post day I was shackled in my bed with an humour fallen into my right foot bad enough to be the gout, and though it yet holds me, I am willing to hope it is not that disease. The last f.117.

1655. weeke afforded little matter to write, saue only concerning the Lord Belcaris, who had designed his child to be christened att Charenton to draw the Duke of Yorke thither by being Godfather, and con-ceaued they had secured it by proposing Madame de Turene to be deputy for our Queene. And this was soe farre swallowed as that *Lo. Jermyyn and S^r Jo. Berkeley* the Sunday before advertised the Ministers and elders that the Duke would be there such a day to christen a child. But as the Duke resolued it not, soe the Queene gaue for answeare to my Lord in person that, had the child bin christened in the church her husband and children were brought up in, shee would haue made noe difficulty of assigning a deputy as at other tyme shee had done, but, hauing a foresight that this would be desired from her, shee had sent to aske the Queene Mother whether euer shee had deputed any in the like case at Charenton and the Queene Mother replyed neuer any had bin soe bold as to invite her to it. And soe the next day my Lord Belcaris carried his child to Charenton and tooke with him for Gosnips the Lady Ballentine,^a my Lord Jarmin and S^r John Barkly. Soe true are the couenantee Scots to their Presbitery, notwithstanding multitudes of the French Huguenots send their children to our church to be baptised.

As for the *Kings* iorney, truely noe man is better satisfied then I am vpon the reasons ought to satisfy any man, which is that, when his Majesty advisedly takes a resolution vpon his owne iudgement and added therewithall the consultation with his counsell, surely wee ought to thinke that is done which wee would wish done, did wee know what they knew. And therefore I make noe iudgement vpon the success, though yet it be bad enough. God bless him in all his vndertakings, without which wee cannot be happy, and I will wish the same to him, though it would render me vnhappy. I shall acquaint S^r Spencer with what you say and did long since

^a Presumably the wife of Sir William Bellenden, though he is said to have been unmarried.

advise him the same thing. I was noe whit misinformed in what I writ of the Lo. Bellcarris treating with the Huguenots, for I did not write it you for a certaine newes but for a Palais Royall assertion, and that I am sure it was. I doubt not *Mr. Bennett* is in the height of Grace, but I admire not their iudgements who soe soone place him in their bosomes for falling out with their adversaries. Such wayes will at one tyme or other deceaue them. I am sorry *Secretarie Nicho. and S^r Ed. H[yde]* should thinke [it] strange that *Lo. Hatton* acquainted them not with the particular vndertaking by *Marq. Ormond*, when, as both *Secretarie Nicholas* and *S^r Ed. H.* did write to *Lo. Hatton* vpon euery particular touching *Du. Glou.*, that noe thing would be thought on till *Mar. Or.* returned, euen in things that passed before his arriuell, as resolving all things that related to *Du. Glou.* should stay till *Mar. Orm.* came back, the bussines that *Lo. Hatton* recomended relating to that it was noe wonder it was sent with *Mar. Or.* I thanke you for minding them of itt. Not that I am soe stupid as not to vnderstand by the delay my success, as well as I did by the euading the patent bussines what is in that entended. Yet I loue to haue direct answeares, and when I am not worthy of fauors costs nothing and that are giuen to others and that euen promises and warrants cannot worke for me by such good frends helpes, I know what to trust to, but shall neuer repent my suffrings for his Majesties seruice as well as for his blessed fathers. I haue not heard from my sonne since he went and perhaps you may heare before me, for he went meerely to serue *the King* with more expedition then wee find. I pray beleeeue me intirely satisfied with all your care and fauors and beleeeue me noe passion shall make me misplace my displeasures. And you shall find my poore child will haue a sense of your frendship to his father, who is and euer will be,

Sir, your most humble seruant,

S. S.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 9 Apr., 1655.

- f. 118. The prints this weeke much alter our opinion of affaires here, for they not only want all mencion of new risings, only in Wales (where they saie there were 700 horse vpp), but they speake of taking prisoners dayly, where they were vpp in Yorkeshire and the North, and that Wagstaffe was beaten by a troope of horse at South Moulton, tenn miles from Exon. They speake of taking many horse and fiftie prisoners and that he escaped, but they would seeke for him. They doubted he would goe into Cornwall, where he might doe much harme; and yet they print a lettre from Falmouth that all was quiett there. The strangenes of this busines to me is that the last weekes bookes spake of about five hundred that went with him out of Salisbury and now they only count 200 that were at Moulton, and, if in all that march none came to him nor moved elsewhere, I much feare the inclinations of the people to a generall rising. I could not send you the French print and therefore trouble you with soe much of the prints which you may perhaps have more fully elsewhere. I know not what to coniecture of it; only tyme must tell vs. But after this and the hard digestion of the prints *Lo. Newburg* told me he received a lettre that was dated 2 Apr. which told him all things went well and y^t it was beleevd *the King* would take the benifitt of *this winde*, and vpon that he reasons that such a determinacion could not be grounded on what the former printes spake, and accordingly he makes pre-operation. I sawe another lettre of the 4th instant, that spake of the Kings busines with great confidence, which surely would not proccede from the bookes, for they gave little but Wagstaffes busines and that was noe ground for such a resolution. And doubtlesse, if there were noe more then the bookes gave first, the designe would not be probable, noe persons of quality appearing in it. They speake not of Hull,

but mencion *Lo. Rochester* to be in *Yorkeshire*. I wonder Wagstaffe 1655.
dismissed your frinde ^a soe easily. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

ANDREW JOHNSON.^b

SIR,

London, April 12, 1655.

It is soe long since I sent you word of my going from Padly f. 124.
(*Paris*) that you may by this time thinke I haue forgott or at least
been very neglegent in performing what I promised you to doe as
soon as I could get to Lonley,^c but the only cause why I haue noe
sooner giuen you an account of it has been the difficultys I haue
mett with in the thing, for I find it a very hard thing now to meet
with a discreet and trusty person to carrell (*correspond*) [with]
M^r Newington (*Sec. Nicholas*), but am resolu'd howeuer not to
giue it ouer till I haue found out one to doe it, thoug I feare I
shall not soe suddainly effect it as I had reason, when I vndertooke
it, to beleuee I should, for since that time all those that are of
Mr. Kopllys (*Kings*) faith (*faction*) haue been in soe greate feares
of on kinde or other that they haue not yett recouered them selves
out of the distraction they were in, and I doubt it will be yett
very hard to gett any of them to vndertake to speake with soe
dangerous a man as M^r Newington. But after some little time
I hope it will be more easy to perswade some of them to it.
The truth of it is these are very dangerous times, and honest men
cannot be quiett in their owne houses scarce in any countey in
England. These troublesome spiritts that will neuer leaue plotting

^a John Dove, the sheriff (above, p. 240).

^b Perhaps a pseudonym. According to Manning the spy, Johnson was one of the names of Major Nicholas Armorer (*Thurloe St. Pap.*, iii. p. 339).

^c Not deciphered, but probably meaning London.

1655. against the present authority giue soe great causes of gelosies and suspicions that we shall neuer be at rest till all of them be found out and brought to punishment, as those of them that are taken in the west a[re] likely suddainly to be, for this is the day appointed for the going downe of Judge Thorpe^a an others to trye them, and it is beleueed that all such as were taken actuely in armes will loose their liues, and that the number of them being soe great thouse that are taken but apon suspition, though there be high probabilitie against them, may scape, the blood of the others being enough to satisfie iustice. We doe not hear of any lately taken any where. Some say one of those that were taken in the North, Sr Richard Maleuere, is escaped.^b Here has been such various reports concerning the Duke of Bucingam that we knowe not what to beleiue, but most or all doe now agree in the opinion that his peace is, or will be very suddainly, made here, and there be some that will haue him already in England. His brother in law the D. of Richmond died on Thursday last in the evening, and has left a very sad house. It is not yett certainly knowne who are his executours, but it is conceiued the Earle of Lindsy and the Earle of Southampton. We haue soe various reports of the treaty with France and agreement with Spaine that it's not worth the troubling you with them till wee know somethi[n]g of certainty.

I am for some little time going into the country, but shall returne againe very suddainly and prosecute your busines. In the meane time I haue leaft it in a friends hand, who, I hope, will doe som thing in it by that time I come backe. Sir, howeuer formerly you haue bin ignorant of the true name of one that

^a Francis Thorpe, Baron of the Exchequer. He excused himself, however, on grounds of conscience and was dismissed from the bench in consequence (Foss, vi. p. 494).

^b See an account of his escape in a letter from Capt. J. Griffiths to Thurloe, 29 Mar. (*Thurloe St. Pap.*, iii. p. 304).

honours you see much, I must now begg of you to hereafter to 1655.
know me by the name of

Your affectionate kindsman and humble seruant,
ANDREW JOHNSON.

The Earl of Middlesex^a is to marry the Lady Bath (one of the
greatest fortunes here), as I am informed by good hands.

Addressed: A Monsieur,
Monsieur Herlange a Anuers.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT Ho^{ble},

Hage, 13 Apr. 1655.

I beleeeve the ill newes is now fully confirmed to you since your f. 126.
9 instant that I received and finde you had not then the newes
of the weeke, which fills all here with great sadnes, as there is good
cause, though some are not soe much afflicted, in regard they
expect the event will have heavy operations on some particulars
at whose dores they would leave the miscarriage, not lookinge at
all to the vndertakers nor deserters nor betrayers. I beleeeve that
the long protraction of this busines weakned the spirits of many,
deprived them of the wisdome and courage of surprised leaders and
disordered the whole plott; and it is to me a very great wonder
that Wagstaffe would soe boldly attempt the Assises with 200 horse
without any communication with other forces, but run on into
Cornwall, as if there he could make a stand against the kingdome.
Dr. Morley came from Breda on Thursday last, but then there was
not an opinion of a totall losse, though there were enough to found

^a James Cranfield, 2nd Earl of Middlesex, 1645. The marriage, which took effect,
was with Rachel [born Fane], widow of the 5th Earl of Bath, whose death is re-
corded above, p. 88.

1655. the opinion of it which is now vniversall, and I beleeeve you have heard from Mr. Ch[ancellor] at large of it, who I beleeeve hath a great sence of the sadd accident, and such as loved him not will now lay loade on him. *Lord Culpeper*, when he was here, professed himselfe a great stranger to all busines, especially designes in England, and was very seldom here. This wilbe matter of much discourse for his frinds. . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. PICKERING [Ormonde].

GOOD MR. PICKERING,

Colen, $\frac{7}{13}$ April, 1655.

Add. 4180,
f. 130.

Your friend S^r Ed. Hyde promised me in a former letter that he would acquaint me by this last post with something concerning your late meeting. But it seems he hath since thought better of it, for in his last letter he says not a word of it. I confess I do not understand the reason of such his reservedness in matters not incommunicable to one in my place, and to whom he professes—and he would [have] the world believe—he bears an entire friendship. I assure you I do not mention this that I am desirous or curious to pry into secrets further than they may without breach of trust or prejudice be communicated; and if he had not, after he parted from you, promised to write to me of it something in cypher, it may be I should not have expected to have heard any thing from him of it. And I should not have presumed to have said thus much of his unkind reservedness, but for what you were pleased to say to me here the night before your departure concerning his perfect kindness to me, which, I assure you, I have of late observ'd to be much more in discourse than real as to my particular. I presume he is other to those for whom he hath more esteem.

LORD HATTON.

1655.

SIR.

Paris, 16 Apr., 1654 (sic).

I cannot say I am glad that my sonne found noe difficultyes in his entry into England, because the speedy catastrophe of our hopes there rendred his passage easie, though I feare itt will be noe safe place for any true affected, for doubtles they will now labor to extirpate caualiers. For the Papists and Puritaines (whom I shall euer hold against vs) doe lay the load of this little broullerie vpon the caualiers single, and I find our frends in England are very much afflicted they shall suffer for soe small an attempt, wherein appears none of condition of our side nor any of consideration in the Army. The French heere deride our miserie, soe doe those in France who should not doe it. The cardinall lately in publique asked Lo. Jarmin if the King of England appeared not publiquely in London streetes in his coach, and the other instead of a gallant answeare crouched. I send you an inclosed from *my sonne*, who I pray hence forward lett 520 (which is now Lo. Hopton) stand for, since wee may haue often occasion to mention him, being resolued to pursue all seruices wherein he may be vsefull to your commands. I send you likewise a peece of a letter I receaued lately from London; and, if you marke what is in itt concerning *the Du. of Buckingham* and call to mind what I long since advertised you, and consider his present peace made in England, you will perhaps reflect vpon that bussines as deepe as others. I am very gladd of the newes you send me concerning Mr. Scott, because he hath bin very vnhanzomely pressing beyond whats expected from him. As for the money returned to *Mr. Louell*, *Sir G. R[atcliffe]* doth att this moment iustifie it, but I desire noe more words may be made of itt then tends for your satisfaction. *Sir G. Rattclif* affirms he hath by letter taxed *M^r Louell* with itt, but he auoids to answeare him. I pray handle it gently, but looke into itt, for God is my witnes I am farr from sp[^e][^e]eene or mallice to *Mr. Louell* and neuer

Eg. 2535,
f. 129.

1655. aimed att his preiudice, but only desired all inconvenience might be remoued which tended to preiudice the King or the Duke. I pray lett it be noe publick thing, but when you write to *Sir G. Rat[cliffe]*, take notice of what I told you concerning monies, for he read it to me out of his wiues letter, who auerred it from the Lady Sunderlands^a owne mouth. I am very gladd you disaproue raillerie in others and hope in tyme it may be left amongst *Councillors*

Sir, your most humble seruant,
S. S.

I pray lett 484, which is now *S^r John Cockram*,^b stand hens-forward for *S^r Spencer Compton*. And encourage him by yours to repaire towards *the Kings* person, when he shall retorne from his present retreat, for I would haue such virtuous persons who will be noe charge to the Court to be there allwayes. 'Tis modesty makes him forbear, but I know, if yours to him second my aduice, he will repaire to Court the first moment the King shall appeare againe.

PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

Paris, this 16 of Aprill, 1655.

f. 130. By my aduise from London of March y^e 29 all things designed and hetherto acted haue conduced (as for what yet appeares) only to secure and better settle the damned Oliuer and his Ministers in theirre Gouvernment and now tirannicall intentions by preparing a Commission of Oyre and Terminer to try all

^a Dorothy, dau. of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, and widow of Henry Spencer, 1st Earl of Sanderland. Lovell had been tutor to her son (above, p. 5, note c).

^b Cochrane; see vol. i. p. 56.

prisoners in the seuerall Counties. This ill success occasions y^e French to treat of y^e peace with a greater earnestness then formerly, how dishonorable soeuer it may prooue to theire nation. And for an introduction the arrest lately giuen upon y^e Englishe shippes and goods is taken of, y^e Ambassador commanded to stay and treat, wherein, as I am informed from a good hand, y^t the business is now contracted to y^e wourd "present," y^e French saying "not assisting our Enemyes," and Cromwell will haue "our present Enemyes." What libertie hee may thereby haue I referre to your honours consideration. My information further mentions that y^e Protectors guards not beeing payed did two severall dayes take his meat as it was carying up to his table, saying they would not starue, though they had no pay, and this nether at y^e present or afterwards was punished, and now y^e souldgier is promised payement out of y^e confiscations of theire estates who are to bee tryed for life, and by computation which they haue already made it will amount unto aboue fiftene hundred thousand pounds. The L^d Willmot^a finding things not to succeed according to his expectation gott to a shipp and is gon to sea. The Duke of Richmond is by letters of this day certainly dead. Hee made the Dutchess his absolute Executrise and left the children to her disposall and gouernment. The D. of Buckingham is thought to bee priuatly in London, but not confirmed for a truth.

The King hath lately bine twice at the parliament. Y^e first time hee passed fower arrests, which inuolued diuers to the great dissatisfaction of many Presidents, who thereupon held seuerall priuate consultations, and to forbid those meetings was the Kings second business, which at the most tooke not up aboue a quarter of an hower, and so his Mat^{ie} returned to the Bois de Vincen, where the Court had kept about this fortnight past, which troubles this Cittie y^e more because of a designe now much talked of, and some

^a Earl of Rochester. He seems not to have crossed the channel on his way back before June (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 43).

1655. say concluded; it is, to build a faire quarter in y^e Arsinall for y^e King, from y^e garden of which a draw Bridge is to bee made ouer y^e Fosse, that so his Mat^{ie} may goe and come from the Bois de Vincen to this cittie by a port of his owne, and that will bee protected by y^e Bastill, where (by the Queens beeing at a Nunnerie thereby) I went and visited y^e Prisoners. S^r Thomas Rookesby^a I found merry and hopefull of his speedy freedome, but S^r Robert Welch^b seemed doubtfull of his, and Mr. White with his brother^c deieted and as it were hopeless.

The Earle of Anglesie^d and his two Hectors upon Sunday morning last fought a duell with Collonel Dillan, sonn to y^e Lord Dillan, and two Irishe Captains of y^e Duke of Yorkes regiment. The Earle receiued two hurts on the right side, the one through the shoulder, the other through y^e body under y^e ribbs, but neather y^e one or other is by Chirurgions thought mortall. His Lordships Hectors had no hurt, and y^e Irishe came of untoucht. The Lord Musgray^e and old Mr. Bealing are gone for Poland. Henery Killigrew, upon the Duke of Yorkes paying of 150 pistolls, was released Sunday last and, as I heare, hee is gon to his Father in Holland. Vpon Sunday y^e Queen came from Challiott, but Madame Coniet remained there, and so by resolving to turne Religious intends that place for her abroad.

^a See above, p. 72; but perhaps the Col. Rocksby there named was a different person. He and the others seem to have been in the Bastille as partisans of Condé.

^b Knighted 25 Oct. 1642, being described as of Ireland (B.M., Add. 32,102, f. 212b). Under the name of Walsh or Welsh he frequently figures in the *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, vol. iii.; and very curious accounts by himself of his rather questionable doings in England in 1656-7 will be found there, p. 366, and in *Cal. St. Pap.* 1656-7, p. 293.

^c Perhaps the brothers Richard and Andrew White described by Marcés as "twoe of the greatest villains in the world" (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 282).

^d Charles Villiers, 2nd Earl of Anglesey in 1630; he survived till 1660. His opponent was Charles, eldest son of Thomas, 4th Viscount Dillon, a very young man.

^e An unrecognisable title, unless Muskerri is meant. "Old Mr. Bealing" is probably Richard Bellings, historian of the war in Ireland in 1611-43.

S^r Theodore Mayerne^a is dead and left his dawghter wourth a hundred thousand pounds in ready mony, a good estate there in land besides his fortune in Switzerland 1655.

Unsigned, but endorsed by Nicholas: Mr. Church.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

SIR,

Hage, 1st Apr., 1653 (*sic*)

. . . . Our dear maister I thinke by this time is with you, being, as I am told, on Munday or Tuesday last gone towards Collen. Wee hoped and wished his course should haue lyen another way. But God's time, it seemes, is not yet comed, though I still hope he will in his owne time and his owne way doe the worke to his owne Glory and our comfort. How the businesse is come to be frustrat, which wes thought to be in so fair and secure a way, you will certainly haue more perfect notice then I can giue you, who can write nothing of it but from incertain report. . . . f.132.

I beleene you haue heard of a purpose the Cardinal Mazarin had to haue imployed the D. of York in Piedmont. But my French letter tells me the Court of Sauoy declines it for these 4 reasons. First, they say the imployment is below the Duke of York; 2, The D. of Sauoy goeth himself to the field to command; 3, The Duke of York is Protestant, and it would be scandalous to the Catholick princes in Italy to haue an Heretick to comand amongst them; and lastly, they haue maritime places, and, Cromwell hauing a fleet in the Mediterranean, they dare not displease him. However, they say the Cardinall promiseth that care shallbe had of the D. of York. How well he will performe it, time will informe

^a The famous physician. He died at Chelsea, 22 Mar. (Munk, *Roll of Roy. Coll. Physicians*, i. p. 166).

1655. us. I beseech God he may be in a condition to haue no need of any of them. I am euer, Sir,

Your most affectionat and humble Seruant,

A. H.

Endorsed by Nicholas : $\frac{6}{18}$ April, 1655. S^r Alex. Hume.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 16 Apr., 1655.

f. 133. Wee here speake much of the kings being gone back to Colen, and I was told that some were in this towne that were come from him with directions. S^r G. Talbot and Mr. Ellyott are here, but I have not had talke with either of them, only saluted the one, who expected a lettre in your packett. I was told that Cr[omwell] is very much vnsatisfied with Mr. Henvliett and that he is confident the King was at Tiling. If he be really soe, he hath as meane intelligence as reasons, but he would have men know that Mr. H. is in his suspicion. They say that *they of Holland* have sent to *Cromwell* touching *D. of Glouc.*, and it may be will have an answeare rather to the liking of those that love *his company* then of him y^t sends it.

There is newes here that Cr[omwell] and the French are agreed, which, considering the French seizure of English shippes and the interest of states, is not very probable; and this newes comes from the French officers, that are forward enough to carry newes that brings us noe advantage. Whatever it be, wee must be contented, and God in his tyme will doe that which is best for his owne glory and the good of his children, whether by prosperity or affliction, and wee must pray for the graces of his spirit to beare the one as well as to use the other.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

THE EARL OF NORWICH TO CHARLES II.

1655.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

By this time I presume your Majesty is safely arrived at Colloigne, f. 135.
 where I may without danger now present my humblest and all
 vowed duty to you, as I did dayly my best prayers to my great good
 God for you when you were where I durst not comme otherwise
 neare you, knowing full well that the inquiry after the secrets
 of a prince is next dore to y^t of inquiry after y^e end of his life,
 noe lesse criminall then wicked.

When your Majesty shall think me capable of your commands,
 which of late I haue not found my selfe to be, as well for what
 I heare of my being thought vnsecret (a hard censure after fifty
 yeares seruice in your Royall Family) as for my other wants, be
 confident, Sir, I will euer be within reache of your call, and noe
 more abandon my Allegiance to you then I will my Fayth to God.
 Which sayd, I haue noe more to importune your Majesty withall
 then the all humble vowed obedience of, Sir,

Your Majestyes all devoted and most
 obedient subiect and seruant,

NORWICH.

Antwerp, Aprill 18, 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 20 Apr., 1655.

I received your 16 instant and finde you have not soe cleane f. 137.
 quitted hope as wee here. I perceiue Mr Chancellor is much of
 your perswasion y^t the busines is not totally lost. Its true their
 last books gave noe account of S^r J. Wagstaffe nor his horse, nor of

1655. the Welsh, but in the meane tyme none are vpp, noe towne declared, nor any one act done like men that had a designe in hand; and there being noe remaynders in England, the Welsh forces will probably soone sitt downe as others have done. I beleeeve ere now 294^a is with you, and I thinke thence lettres give more light then I cann coniecture; for, as I looke on it, I cannot see ground to suppose any strength to carry on an action, though I see not the totall issue of those that began this. If there were any thing of resolution, certainly it was most imprudently managed that noe one party should attempt any thing vpon the enemy or to fortifie themselves; but I am vnwillinge yet to beleeeve that delay was not a great cause of this disaster. For if any thing was prepared as was given out, the dissolution of his parlament was as seasonable for execution as could be expected, and when soe considerable persons were apprehended and such preparations made against risings, the danger must needs be increased, besides the discovery which must probably follow. I beleeeve that false brethren that were mixed in this designe protracted the tyme purposely to ruyne all; and truly of all the attempts that I have knowen hitherto I have not vnderstood any worse executed. In the meane tyme wee heare nothing, but lettres from Flanders saie that there is an absolute breach with France and that it is proclaymed in England, which I beleeeve not, though it come from Dunkirke. It is eident what the collections of men wilbe vpon misfortunes, but men in publique place must not be dismayed in doing their duty; though I know nothing more fatall to great persons then confidence in their owne parts or others favours, which is seldom blessed, besides the errors it occasions. I doubt that the blow given by this busines will ly heavy upon the resolutions of many for a long tyme, soe as wee can expect nothing but sadnes from thence. I wish all that aynded rightly in the K's busines were of the same temper, for personall dispositions have

^a "294" i.e. "King," in the key in Egerton MS. 2550, f. 85.

a great influence vpon affaires, both in regard of the persons 1655.
actinge and the instruments to be vsed in actions, and it is very
vnhappy that soe many take offence and occasion to crosse what
is done for the actors' sake, and are vnfrindly to men of integrity
for some vnpleasantnes in their disposition. This I see very
frequent and I wish there were as much care taken to oblige frinds
as I see there is industry to increase enemyes, and many are carryed
by their aversions vpon particular addresses. I heare the Spanish
mony came to Antwerp and that there is a particular Councell in
France for the warr with England, whereinto the D. of Yorke is
admitted. I have not els at present, but wish I might be able to
doe somewhat that might manifest the affection of

*Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

COLONEL HERBERT PRICE.^a

Sir,

Flushing, 22th Apr.

His Mat^{ie} hath commaunded me that, if I mett with any thing f. 139.
that I thought fitt he should be acquainted with, that I should not
misse to doe it. I cannot convey it more properly nor willingly by
any hand then yours.

By lettres out of England I am assured that when the last post
came thence that my L^d of Roch[ester] was well and safe, and that
our hopes there were not to be quitted. Our expectation of the
breach betweene the crowne of France and Cromwell, methinks, is
fadinge by letters from both places. I am now to tell you a thing
that giues me much trouble. Vppon Sunday I spoake with a person
that came out of England the Fryday before; he told me he was
att Salisbury when Sr Joseph Waggstaffe came with his party

^a See above, p. 157, note e.; and Clarendon's *History*, v. p. 426.

1655. thither. He sayd he was 5 or 600 strong when he entered and marched away 1000 Horse, that in their march westward they disagreed and devided, which was the occasion of their ruine, not without suspition of trechery; 2 or 300 of them gott into Wales, where they say they are still bussleing. And [he] saith that the generall discourse in England is that my L^d Duke of Buckingham is the person that hath giuen Cromwell constant informacion of whatsoeuer he could learne of the vndertakeinge for the King in England and that therevppon he is to be restored to his Estate and to marry Cromwells daughter. Vppon Tuesday I spoake with a seruant of Mr. Websters that landed on Munday night and was in London on Saturday. He confirms the same report, which I am sure you would be sorry for, if it be true. Soe should I from my heart, but I hope it is false, because I haue not seene it in any lettre from England; yet I heare it is att the Hagh, and I know a man that [was] att the seige of Arras that heard him deliuer such language that I cannot but feare he may doe this monstrous vnhappy act, which if he hath, I had rather be any thing then the Duke of Buckingham.

I beseech you with all humility present my most humble duty to his Matie. I have stayd here to expect one out of Engl. who writes he cannot yet come; therefore I shall to morrow towards Holland for 10 or 14 dayes, and, if you please to fauor me with any commands, you may be pleased to direct your lettres to Rotterdam for Henry Whitmore and they will safely come to the hands of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

HER[BERT] PR[ICE.]

Endorsed by Nicholas: Coll. Harb[ert] Price.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

1655.

RT. HO. SIR,

Paris, 23 Apr. 1655.

I give you most humble thanks for y^e care you have taken to discharge y^e D. of Glocesters debt, which I hope before this tyme is done. The *Countess of Sunderland* tould a good friend of mine *that mony was sent from freinds in England to Mr. Lovell to supply D. of Glouc. for his journey from hence*, which I write to you because I believe there will be cause to spare *the K. his purs* as much as may be. Yet I pray you that this information may be kept as private as may be. The last weeke y^e D. of Yorke believed that y^e Peace betwene England and France had bene in effect concluded; but now there is no talke of it. My lady of Rochester^a sent her second sonne, Mr. Francis Lee, hither to du Veau's Academy. He came this weeke to this towne. My lady did mee the honor by her lettre to desire my assistance, if I could serve him by any advise. Mr. Tho. Chicheley has a sonne (a proper yonge man) who came alonge with him, but he is goeing to y^e River of y^e Loire to learne French this Summer.

Cromwell is preparing a great Fleet; and he is buildinge one ship which they say wilbe bigger then the Sovereigne and must be called Naseby. Wee have had much talke in Paris upon a project of sealed paper, wherein all contracts and legall busines should be written. The profit which should arrise to y^e Kinge hereby in this towne onely is estimated at 20,000 crownes a day, which seemes to mee very incredible, yet I had it from a credible person. The K. came in person to y^e Parlement to cause ye Edict concerninge it to be verified. The Counsellors of y^e Grand Chambre beinge only present, the other Chambers desired to meet and consult about it. The Kinge by his lettre of cachet prohibited

^a Anne, dan. of Sir John St. John, Bart., and wife (1) of Sir Henry Lee, Bart., of Ditchley, and (2) of Henry Wilmot, 1st Earl of Rochester.

1655. their assemblyes; yet they mette. Hereupon the Kinge comes againe in to y^e Grand chambre in a coulered ridinge suit, a pair of great bootes, and his hat tyed up on one side, a habit which they say never Kinge vsed in that place. All y^t was said was spoken by himsele alone (not by y^e Chancelour) and his not movinge his hat untill just he came to sit downe vpon his bed of Justice and some other gestures he vsed with his handes were observed as threatninge; but it is sayd they are but his ordinary manner. He tooke notice y^t his commandes were not obeyed, and he forbade y^e Counsellors to desire, or y^e Primer president to grant, any more assemblyes contrary to his lettres. The next day the Parlement sent some of their members to him and to y^e Cardinall, who carefully disclaimed any advice or consent to this action of the Kinge. A new lettre of chachet was sent to y^e Parlement excusinge the mater, as done by the Kinge *en chaleur de foye*, and commandinge the chambers to meet. This story I presume you will have from better handes; yet I was willinge to give such particulars and circumstances as I have met withall.

It is observed by sundry persons at *Pallais Royall* that *D. Yorke* is enamoured with *Lo. Jermyn*: much conversation and great familiarities passe dayly betwixt them. *D. Yorke* often *cateth with Lo. Jermyn*. *Will. Loving* was here, and kindly treated by *Lo. Jermyn*, but now I see him not. Since he went I am tould his busines was to get some new *Comissions* for *Admiraltie* busines from *D. Yorke*. How he sped I know not, for I am altogether a stranger now to those affaires, ever since *D. Yorke* came last out of the *jeild*, though formerly *D. Yorke* recommended all those busines to me. And I believe all parties are pleased; for *S^r Geo. Ratcliff* is eased of a weekly charge for lettres received thereabouts and some other little troubles, and I hope the busines is done every whit as well; though I well know not how the alteration came about. Probably there may be some thinges in it not fit for mee to know. The last weeke y^e *Queene* vsed some bitter speeches of *S^r G. Ratcliff*. It seemes the busines of *D. Glouc.* is not forgotten; for that is all

the mater that I can learne. All this put together makes *S^r G. Ratcliff* weary of *Paris*, where he is an eysore to some and vseless to all. I crave your pardon for troublinge you with this relation. 1655.

I am most heartily glad to be assured by you that there is a right intelligence betwene *Mar. Orm[onde]* and *Sec. Nicholas*. I have heretofore had much speech with *Mar. Orm[onde]* concerning you, and I ever found that confidence and affection in *him* towards you as there was no roome for any thinge that I could say to adde any-thinge thereunto. My last scruple[s] rise from a little inclinge I had, as if you had not bene fully acquainted with *the last designe for England*, wherein I knew no man more fit to be trusted then you in many respects. You will pardon mee in this particular also, wherein the honor I beare to both parties made mee perhaps more busy then I needed to have bene.

Your honours most humble servant,

DE COLTON.

Two dayes agoe the K. of France sent to y^e Popes nuncio expressinge a desire of y^e generall Peace, and offeringe to his Holines all the powers y^t were possible for him to give to that ende.

CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Hage, Apr. 23, Friday, 1655.

Though it appeares y^t wee are not yet capable of y^e greate Blessing of liucing vnder his Majesties government, yet Heaven continues to bee kinde to vs in preserueing his Person, and in y^t and the justice of his cause [lie] our hopes. For my owne particular, I finde noe symptoms of despaire in my mind, and, though my hopes were not so sanguine as other mens, when I first saw this busyness on foote (for I must confess I had greate grounds of

f. 146.

1655. doubteing), yet I haue not so greate a measure of phlegme and melancholy despaire as I finde most labour vnder, now things are reduced to this low condition. And I must confess I am no less troubled to see men so much dejected then I was angry to heare them rant so high, when affaires stood in a more hopefull posture. But it is no wonder to see men who were so excessiue hot so extremely cold, and to finde sad accidents make so deepe an impression, when they were so much softned with a little success. This, Sir, is y^e temper of this place at present. And yet a Letter which S^r Andr. Cogan hath received from his Lady hath strangely recouered y^e despayrers, and I wish it might proue true and perfect y^e cure. It tells vs y^t S^r Jos. Wagstaff is in Cornwall with 3,000 men, that hee hath broke downe y^e Bridges and stands vpon his guard; but I doe not finde this letter seconded, either heere or at Rotterdam, where I was yesterday and sifted som of different judgements, and could not discouer any thinge tending y^t way, nor doe y^e bookes once mention any party now in motion, though on the other side they doe not tell vs what is becom of S^r Jos. Wagstaff or y^e party in Wales which they mentioned a fortnight since. The news of this letter had not walk'd 3 turns vpon y^e courte, but Reuerend D^r Cade had sented it and spent his mouth most liberally (as hee is wont) to all his Pupils; and within a few houres after his letter (hee sayd) spake somthing y^t way. But y^e letter is invisible, and hee keepe it as close as hee doth his learning, which I thinke hee received *sub sigillo confessionis*, and may not reveale it. It is not to bee imagined how contemptible such things render vs, and how wee are exposed to y^e scorne of our Enemys by such insignificant buzzings and noyse. Heere are divers of this towne arrived out of England, but they giue vs no account of any partys stirring, but say y^t there is searching day and night for the King, though I beleue Cromwell hath too good a nose as to hunt vpon a false sent and knows well enough y^t noble game is out of his reach. But it is probable y^t is y^e pretension to see who they can finde ly concealed. Among others

who are come over heere are two little boys, one of them Mr. Woods sonne and y^e other Mr. Oarts, who were put in y^e stocks for calling Cromwell by his name, beeing apprehended by an officious zealot who overheard them. But their leggs beeing small they made a shift to draw them out of y^e stocks and made vse of them for theire security. If y^e children should cease to speake, y^e stones would curss y^e Traitor.

Heere are suddaynly expected Commissioners aboute setling y^e English Courte of Merchant Adventurers at Rotterdam; one I heard named, Ford, who is a Knaue in graine, properly so calld, for, when he should haue supplied my Ld. of Ormond with Arms and Ammunition, hee carryd corne to y^e Rebels. I shall labour what I can to retriue my correspondence in England, but I feare it will bee a matter of som difficulty, for I am confident those persons who I trusted there are som way or other ingaged in this busyness and, iff not actually secured already, will bee forced for a time to quit y^e Citty. I beleue *Sr Ri. Page* is in London, for I saw a letter to his Lady (whom I not very willingly met with at Rotterdam) of a late date from thence, by which I perceiue his condition is very sad, as well as other honest men. Every one heere much wonders where *Sr M. Hubart* (?) is, and what all his great pretence will produce; but I was told at Rotterdam by an honest freinde y^t hee is in London, and that hee hath bin there ever since his goeing over, which to mee would bee a greater riddle, iff I did not know how much hee is devoted to his ease and a soft kinde of life. And it hath bin often whispred to mee that hee is not acceptable to y^e Gentry in his owne country.

You would hardly credit how severely the miscarriage of y^e busyness reflects vpon *Sir E. H[yde]*, for, beeing by the most supposed to bee, if not *the sole*, yet *the cheife manager of this designe*, the whole weight *lyes vpon him*, and, though somthing in general may fall vpon his *Mu^{te}*, yet the hottest charge is vpon him. And it is not heere talkd in *corners* y^t, iff *Sr Ed. Herbert* and *Lo. Jermyn* had bin interested in y^e designe, y^e miscarriage

1655. would haue bin layd at theire dore. For my part, I wish y^e childe might haue its right parent; yet I doe not countenance (though sufficiently provoaked) any of these foolish discourses (y^t I may not giue them a worse name), for I know how severely it must press my *Master*, and y^t all the *darts* which are shot at his *Councell* strike him. The *Presbiters* rejoyce (as I am told) very much y^t they *had no hand* in y^e busyness. For my part, I am afrayde they had too much. That is, they were admitted to know som thing of y^e designe, but not y^e bottom, and y^e nature of y^t beast is such y^t it will rather the plow stood still then it should moue by any but theire assistance. It was indeede very strange to mee to finde y^e busynes so publicly discoursed of heere before my goeing into Scotland, there beeing scarce a lacky, serving man or woman which could not say more by much then I knew. For indeede I knew nothing but in general y^t his Majesty was resolved to try his freindes, which hee himself told mee; but heere every one could descend to particulars, which I must confess gaue me no smal argument of feare, for this place neuer wants those who will supply y^e Rebels with intelligence. One particular there is in which I am not able to satisfy som mens curiosity, which is y^e Kings remoue from Cologne (which without doubt gaue y^e Rebels a strong alarum), which is charged vpon his Councell. Hence I should bee glad to bee informed in y^t particular, for it grates my eares when I heare things of this nature and cannot satisfy men without feigneing an answer, which oft times I am compelld to doe rather then suffer such discourses to proceede, as knowing of how fatal a consequence it is to haue persons so neere his Majesties breast aspersed with want of judgement or integrity. But certainly wee are of all people, as y^e most miserable, so y^e most vcharitable, and withall doe y^t for y^e enemy which is his greate designe to effect, I meane to beget jealousys of one another, thus fatally contributeing to our own ruine, which is doubly to be vndone. Since y^e newes of y^e Kings remoue toward Cologne heere is talking at Court as iff the Princess would shortly goe y^t way, but I beleive there are yet no

resolutions taken and, though I wish them y^e content of enjoying the society of one another, yet I rather desire somthing of action agaynst y^e Rebells might call his Majestie another way, and I am confident both of them will forgiue mee this wish. The busyness of France is talkd of heere doubtfully; I suppose you haue farr better intelligence from thence then wee haue heere, or the hungry merchants at Rotterdam, who are more for a trade than a crowne or a church, and generally I finde y^t sort of cattle to be as senseless a beaſt as any of the heard. 1655.

I haue, Sir, drawne out this paper to an vnmanerly length, but it were a worse peice of rudeness to close it before I haue payd you my thanks for your late favour and y^e justice you labour to doe me with *S^r Ed. H[yde]* and *Lo. Newb[urgh]*, who is returned hither from Breda. I haue spoke my minde freely to him, and I beleieue hee is satisfyd y^t, though I am no professd Courtier, yet I neglect nothing of duty or civility. I shall, Sir, labour to approue myselfe in all my actions just and faythfull, whateuer accomplishments of formality or abilitys I want, and by no vnworthy action giue you occasion to repent the kindeness you haue ever shewd to

Your most humble and

most devoted servant,

P. MEWS.

Sir, I hope it will not bee thought too greate a presumption to desyre my duty may bee presented to his Majestie, since I am wholly devoted to serue him. And I shall desire y^t you would procure two Passes in y^e nature of a Testimoniall, one for Lt. Col. Will. Jordan, who served his Majestie in the English warrs and was now with vs in the hills, the other for Captayne Patrick Wishard (*Dr. Wishards sonn*), who was vnder my Ld. Napier. If there be no service against the Rebells, they intend to seeke som other employment. They are both honest men. I desire y^e Passes may bee in Latine.

1655.

LORD CULPEPER.

SIR,

Amsterdam, 30 April, 1655.

f. 153.

I confesse to you, when I first heard of the Kings sudden departure from Collogne, I was of the number of those that were filled with greate and (as I thought) reasonable hopes that his Majesties affaires in England were soe ripe for his presence there that wee might quickly see him where, and in such manner as, he ought to be (I meane in Whitehall and himself), and vppon those grounds I soe impatiently wished his speed thither that I was in continuall paine a whole weeke together that the windes were contrary to his passage ouer the seas. But when three succeeding posts brought vs the sad newes of the fayler of those that should have acted in the preparations of the worke, I was (on the contrary) in extremity of trouble concerning the safety of his Majesties person (fearing that he had been engaged in England) vntill I heard (a fortnight past) that he was on his way to Collogne, where I me hartily reioice to heare that he is safely arrived. My inclinations, as well as my duty, will suddenly cary me to you; I only desire 10 dayes respite to be fairely quitt of these parts. In the meane time it may not (possibly) be unacceptable ne vnusefull to his Majesty to know the newes (severall wayes) which yesterdays post brought vs from London and Paris. Both letters agree that the peace with France will certainly and very speedily (this weeke, some of them say) be concluded; which I suppose can be noe surprise to you. And they both as fully agree in their conjectures that there will suddenly be a breach with Spaine, not to be reconciled. Twelve men of warre (with other shippes of supplies of merchandises) are newly sent after Penns fleet and the generall and dayly expectation at London is to heare that he hath possessed some part of Cuba, if not the Havanna its self. What importance that place is of to Spaine and their Indyees, together with the consequences that must follow vppon the English setting foot on those parts, is soe notorious that I shall

not need to enlarge vppon it; only I shall obserue to you that noe desaigne lesse then the seasing somme place of consequence in the Spanish Indyes can countervale the preparation of that fleet (on which there were 7000 land soldiers when they parted from England, besides those they have taken up at the Barbados) and the supply now sent after them, which makes me beleaue there will really and presently be a declared warr with Spaine, which certainly is the second best (I should prefer one with France, if it were in our choice) wee have to wish for on this side the sea, and such a one (if I mistake not my measures) as, if the opportunity be well improved, may afford very greate and speedy advantages to the King, as well with reference to his present subsistance, as to the greate worke of his recovery. I should willingly communicate to you all I haue thought on vppon this pleasing subject, but it is not fitt for a letter, therefore I shall refer it to our meeting; only I shall add this generall (you will wish the whole Spanish Councell were of my opinion) that, in case the desaigne of the English fleet be as is supposed and that it succeed (which, if attempted, it reasonably ought to doe), the very monarchy of Spaine (especially if the King dye in a short time, as it is beleaved he will) will be in imminent and sudden danger of a totall dissolution, except they seeke their safety by setting vp their rock vppon a diversion to be made in England vnder the Kings standard, which, as it is the only meanes in view left to preserve them (in case of such a warr with England), soe (in my sens) it is very reasonably hopefull to finde successe (and that this next winter), notwithstanding the low condition the affaires of Spaine are in, if they shall vigorously attempt it as the exigence of their affaires will require. What is to be done by the King to open their eyes to see their owne interest (for, as wise as they are, it is very hard for them without helpe to judge aright of the affairs of England), as well in Spaine as with the Emperor and at Rome (for parte of the scene will lye there vppon this happy election of the new pope, soe well disposed to what wee are to seeke, thought it be to be handeled very tenderly) will deserve

1655. the excercise of his Majesties best judgment, and I shall not presume to speake to it at this distance ; only you may please to improve these hints, if you finde them worthy of your thoughts. I am indeed soe surprised in time that I have not enough to reade over whatt I have wrott.

Your most faithfull and most humble servant,

J. C.

*Endorsed by Nicholas : Lo. Culpaper to me
concerning the rupture like to be be-
twene Cromwell and Spayne.*

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

SIR,

Brussels, 3th May, 1655.

f. 157. Its said here that one Doctour Bayly^a passed this way from Cromwell to Rome to be ready to treat with the Pope about some matters of greate importance which may proue very preiudiciall to His Matie. If yow please to acquainte His Matie therewith that, if he finde it conuenient for his affaires, His Matie may signify so much to his freindes at Rome to marke to whom this Bayly applies himselfe unto. The Marquesse of Leide, governour of Dunkirke, beginnes his uoyage as ambassadour to Cromwell on Wednesday nexte. Cannon Taylor goes alonge with him. He scemes to be uery vnwillinge to goe to that murderer of his Kinge, but that he was commaunded thereto by the Archduke, by whose meanes he expects to be byshopp of Calcedon, he that is beinge to ould to performe the place. The Spaniardes here are in noe apprehension of any attempt by Cromwell vpon any of there landes in the West Indies or elsewhere, though there be rumours of it commonly spred,

^a He probably means Thomas Bayly, D.D., a son of Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor ; an active Royalist, especially at the defence of Raglan Castle, and after the King's death an ardent convert to the Romish Church (*Diet. Nat. Biogr.*). That he had any mission from Cromwell is extremely doubtful.

nor the English Catholiques of beinge transplanted into Cumberland and Northumberland. These are but made stories to delude fooles. 1655.

Here is greate joy for the election of the new pope, who was elected by the generall consent of all the Cardinalls. He promiseth much reformation, and the two greate Kinges of France and Spaine offers to submit to his determinacion the peace of Christendome; but it is the custome to promise much at there first comminge. It is publicly talked here that there is another designe in England greater then the last. I heartily wishe it be so, but am sorry there should be so publike discourses of it.

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

M. L.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 4 May, 1655. st. no.

. You will heare of one thing they (*sc.* the States of f. 159.
Holland) had in agitation on Satterday last, which is of sending away the D. of Gloucester out of their territories, upon which point it is said the opinions in their Assembly were much different, so it wes at that time layd aside to be again moued at their next meeting, which wes yesterday. In the meane while the letters from Collen arriving here on Sonday it wes in our Court giuen out that his Majestie had desired the Duke might come to him, which is doutelesse a handsomer way for his retraite then if he were sent away, which would infallibly haue been resolued. So I belecue some time this week he will begin his jorney, which you may be sure will not be without great trouble to his sister, if not to both of them, though I belecue it will be more for the aduantage of the Dukes breeding to be in the Kings company then at this place. I presume Mr Chancellor, with the rest of his Majesties seruants now here, will

1655. attende his highnesse in his jorney, whereof I doute not but you will hear from Mr. Chancellor himself. . . .

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

A. H.

After my writing hereof I am informed that the businesse concerning the Duke of Gloucester was yesterday resumed in the Assembly of Holland, put to the question, and carryed in the affirmative, that intimation should be made to Mr. Louell of the resolution of the States of Holland that for diuerse reasons of weight they thought good to desire that his highnesse would leaue this place. But whether they haue proceeded to make the intimation I haue not yet learned. Perchance they may forbear it vpon the diuulging of the Duke's purpose to goe as sent for by the King. And some ar of opinion that vpon this declaration they will retract their former resolution, and giue him liberty of staying or going as he thinks fitte, being they know he will thinke fitte to goe. You may chance to hear more positiuely from others that goe abroad, which I doe not.

*

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

To S^r H. de Vic.

4 May, N. S.

I have read to his Majesty that part of your letter touching the passing a compliment to the Qu. of Swede vpon occasion of the Qu. her mother's death, which the K. would have you forbear to do. For since she doth (as his Majesty is credibly advertised), as oft as occasion serves, speak publicly with much contempt and disparagement of the K. our late Master of blessed memory, it is probable she may receive any such civility from his Majesty with slight and contempt.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

1655.

HONOURED SIR,

Hage, Tuesday, May 4th, 1655.

Pg. 2535,
f. 163.

I beleive you cannot but expect I should giue you an account of the issue of y^e busyness betwixt *S^r E. H[yde]* and my selfe,^a which I must confess I cannot hope will bee so good an issue as I know you wish and (I may say without ostentation) my zeale for y^e Chancellirs honor hath deserved ; for I perceiue hee is resolved to credit nothing contrary to y^e relation hee hath receiued, which though y^e informer should seale with ten thousand sacraments will one day to his shame appeare notoriously false. Mr. Janes and your sonne were by when wee discoursd, but partly by the frequent coming in of company, and partly by y^e greate Passion with which hee pressd things vppon mee, I had not the opportunity of answering to the particulars hee objected, which were enlarged beyond the mayne thinge in questyon, and things objected as crimes which I must confess I hoped would haue had a much more favourable construction. At our meeteing I perceived by his long silence y^t hee expected I should begin, which I did but (as it was interpreted) very vnfortunately. I told him y^t I had bin informed y^t som person had represented mee to him vnder a character which I had not merited, and y^t I did conceiue hee was as much or more abused in haueing so greate an vntruth imposed vppon his beliefe then I in suffering vnder y^e calumny. At this hee tooke very greate exceptions and was pleased to put a very severe interpretation vppon those words and (as God, who knows the secrets of all heartes, can wytness for mee) such a one as was neuer in my thoughts. For hee would haue them words to signify that I tooke him to bee a person so credulous y^t hee would beleive reports or informations without good ground ; and truly I may say y^t hee expressed more

^a For Hyde's opinion of Mews see his letter to Nicholas of 10 Apr. in *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 30.

1655. passion vppon y^t subject then I (and I beleiue the wyttnesses of our discourse) could haue expected. Hee told mee y^t y^e kindeness which *the King* shewd mee at *Cologne* had wrought a very ill effect vppon mee and had made mee conceiue too much of my selfe, that hee had observed by my letters to you y^t I was apt to pass seuerer censures and the like. These things might haue mov'd my passion, especially the first, but I went with a resolution not to bee disturbed, neither doe I thinke hee will say y^t I was transported to any thing vnseemly. How much I haue since bin troubled with reflecting vppon y^e first of these I wish I did not feelee; for, though I neuer did nor neuer shall make any vse of *the Kings* favours but to improue my zeale and diligence in his service, yet I cannot but suspect y^t hee either hath or will represent mee to him vnder som character which may make mee less acceptable to him. But com what will or can come, I goe vppon such principles as I shall ever justify mee to bee loyall past temptation, and, what ever displeasure shall bee conceived agaynst mee, I shall doe nothing which shall sully my former faythfull (though perhaps vnsuccessfull) endeavours. And I shall beseech you, by all y^t kindeness you haue ever shewd mee, to let mee know whither I stand in y^t credit with him which I suppose I had when hee last commanded mee on his service. As for y^e second, I found by his discourse y^t hee meant a letter which I wrote to you out of Scotland dated, as I remember, the later end of May or the beginning of June, 1654, in which it should seeme I wrote something concerning som mens being so much devoted to their ease y^t they were vnwilling *the King* should goe into action. I did little feare y^t ever y^t would haue bin objected to mee as a fault; for I wrote nothing but what was the common discourse of the Army, and truly I doe not feare y^t, iff his Majestie had seene y^t part of y^e letter, as I vnderstand hee did y^e rest, hee would haue layd so heavy a charge vppon mee. To bee short and not giue you y^e trouble of these things, I perceiue hee is resolu'd not to vnbeleiue any thinge and not to let mee know my accuser; but you and your sonns hee says shall, and I doe not

doubte but hee will say all hee hath sayd and much more, for no man y^t hath advanced so farr will ever thinke of a retreite. Yet I doe beleieve I shall discover him, and I thinke I haue done it allready; for I perceiue by Mr Edwards letter there haue bin informations sent agaynst mee from this place. And I hope you are ere this satisfyd how y^t coms aboute, for I intimated to your sonn y^t I had let fall som things on purpose to see iff I could discover the informer. But as for y^t which was sayd concerning my communicateing your letters, [it] is a fiction, which stands at as greate a remoue from truth as hee doth from honour and freindship who forged it. And therefore, Sir, I hope you will not withdraw y^t kindness which you haue euer honoured mee with, vntill I doe something which may deserue so greate a punishment; and then I am confident it will beare me company to my graue, which I wish may bee infamous iff I haue not a soule free from base and vnworthy designes. Where or how this busyness betwixt *the King* and mee will terminate I cannot diuine; but I haue reason to suspect it will bee to my disadvantage at present, vntill I finde a way to cleere my selfe. But this hee may bee confident of, y^t I shall bee no less tender of his honour and reputation then I haue bin before this happen'd; and I beleieve hee will finde I am not inclinable to base and dishonourable actions. And I heartily wish that hee may not haue reason to repent his confidence in y^e calumniatour; for, iff it bee hee I suspect (and hope shall discover), to my knowledge hee thinks not honourably of y^e chancellors kindness to him. In my next I shall bee more particular. I shall agayne waite vppon *S^r Ed. Hyde* and hope to haue an opportunity of a freer discourse, iff wee bee not interrupted by company.

There is now coming to you *Captayne Dongon*, who commanded y^e *English Troope in Scotland*, agaynst hope there may perhaps bee som prejudice concerning the busynes of *Chan. Loudon*, but y^e Relation which hee hath giuen of it (and which I must confess I beleieve) is much contrary to that which *Chan. Loudon* made. I

1655. shall send you the particulars by y^e next Post, iff hee arriue before that time. I shall desyre you will vse him kindly, which I know you will doe for *Lo. Ormond* his sake, whose kinsman hee is, and hee will deserue it for his owne; for hee behaved himself vpon severall occasions in *Scotland* very gallantly. *Col. Durham* shewd mee a letter yesterday from a freinde of *L. G. Mid[dleton]* in which hee moues for the recalling of him; which I had command from him to haue mov'd at Collogne, had I not found reasonable assurance of supplys or a *diuersion*. Now things are reduced to this vnfortunate condition I could wish it might bee granted him; and I doe not thinke it so difficult for *Col. Durham*, who hath now vndertaken to goe, iff *the King* command him and *Mr. Davidson* furnish out a *ship*, as for *Maj. Strockan* to get to him. For the one is not at all knowne and y^e other notoriously knowne in all those places where the *ship* must touch for *intelligence*. Whatever is done in this must bee with all possible expedition, for I very much feare *Mid[dleton]* his condition is highly desperate. . . .

Your most faythfull and humble servant,

757.

*

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

TO THE E. OF NORWICH.

Colen, $\frac{1}{11}$ May.

Add. 4180,
f. 131.

. . . . I marvel your Ldp. should now write that, when his Majesty calls, you will come, whereas you cannot but know you are by his Majesty daily expected here, having the same monthly allowance that is by the Establishment given to such of his Council as are or have been desired to attend him.

If the K. shall have money (as to my knowledge and sorrow he hath not had since his sister left him), I am confident you will have part. But I assure you he now owes a good part of what he borrowed to bear the charges of his last journey, besides two months' wages to his servants, etc.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE.

1655.

HO^{ble} SIR,Bruxelles, 12th May, 1655.

. . . I hope His Majesty is to wise to neglecte any waies of addresse to Rome as one of his last refuges and not contemne any persons that are imploied from Cromwell, who for the most part imploies meane fellowes, to whom his reputacion giues countenance. I hope he will be wary least he be not preuented there. Rome will be found like other Courts that regarde there owne interest, which is gettinge as good condicions as they can for the Catholiques, rather then the justness of the cause of them that sollicite them. I am glad Mr. Montague is gone, both for his affection to the Kinge and his interest amongst the English Catholiques. The Pope is infinitely commended; God send us reape some fruites of it, which is the praier of

Eg. 2535,
f. 173.

Your most Humble and most faithfull seruant,

MAR. LANGDALE.

THE EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Ghent, May 1st, 1655.

. . . What *Norwichs* dislike of Mr. Cha[nclor] hath bin is noe way soe considerable as to make any other answer therevnto then y^t his ouervallewing himselfe and vnderuallewing others, together with his grasping at too much, hath and will, if it be still permitted, bring irrecoverable inconveniences, if not ruin, to *affaires*. And soe let y^t goe, with this passe only, that I protest to you I think him, as *Sec. Nich.* doth, a very honest, right principled man in the mayne, and shall euer doe him and his the best seruice I can, thought not rely vppon or submit vnto his rules, as perhaps he may expect. And soe much for y^t, hauing somewhat else of more consequence, as I conceiue, to impart to you, which is this, and I beseeche you consider it well and accordingly let his *Majestie* be

f. 175.

1655. informed of it, y^t soe vppon mature aduice with his counsell and all seeresy I may [have] his directions by you only, how to gouerne my selfe, soe far as to put it into the right way, and then to leaue it to the management of any other whome *the King* shall appoint, for I had much rather be neare *his Majestys* person soe soone as *I* can possibly get wherewithall, which only hath bin obstructed by my grandsonnes treachery to poore *L^t Read*, then haue any other employment whatsoever.

-The *busines* is this. Since my comming to *Bruges* a person of much trust in this parts and brother to *the Secretary* of the Archduke, a man most intru[sted] by the *Count Fuensaldagne*,^a cam to me and after much discourse and twice meeting concluded thus, y^t he did noe ways doubt but that *the King of Spain* would really take *the Kings busines* to heart soe as he might haue assurance of his freindship after, as might be [secure] and lasting. Wherevnto *Norwich* replied y^t, till such time as *I* knew what the security was [that] he meant, it was impossible for *me* to make him any other [answer] then that he had litle reason [in that] way to doubt of y^t which soe much concerned *my* master to doe. Wherevpon he [assured] me he would not fayle imediatly to aduise with the *Court* at *Brussels* thereof, which he found most inclynable therevnto and thinking which way to begin it, and then comme to me agayne desiring I should not in the interim be remote from these parts. This, Sir, is the text vppon which we had made many marginal notes too long to trouble you withall at this present, but such as, if I be not much mistaken, haue enlightned vs at both ends, to such a heigth as may shew vs more then formerly we perceiued. I mainly insisted vppon *Pens flete* in the *West Indies*, whereof *I* gaue him such infalible information, by reason of a serious discourse *I* had two days before with a Marchand of *London* whoe passed this way on his returne for *England* (a rich and knowing man and much esteemed by *Cromwell*), hauing bin but 8 days in his iorny, as

^a Alonso Perez de Vivero, Count of Fuensaldagna, commanding the Spanish troops in the Netherlands.

he now is of my oppinion, which these ministers can hardly yet be brought vnto, as he tould me and I had found before, as well from the *Marquis de Leda* as he now passed by to embarke at Dunkerk, which he did on Monday last, as others nearest y^t heline, that by the time we meete agayne I conceiue they wilbe vndeceiued in y^t grosse ignorance, for *Pen* is as assuredly gon thither as I now write to you, though the *Ambassador* of *Spain* in England still oppiniaters the contrary. By a strange accident I spake with this *Englishe* marchand a long time by fise in the morning, from whome I discouered much more then I can describe concerning the yet great vnsettlement in *England* and the iuggling of *Cromwell* in all these *Treaties* with *Spain*, *France* and *Holland* too, with which he beleeuves, as another master of a shipp doth alsoe, there wilbe noe lasting *Peace*. In a word, if we knit vpp ourselves close to our businesse and lay all asperity to each other aside, following the mark before vs, I cannot dispayre of a resours, and y^t ere long, much more prosperous then the late face of affayres hath promissed, Vppon which score I haue much, very much, to say to you, had I time and opportunity for it, which after a weeke more and sight of what I expect from *England*, not hauing yet seene this last weekes letters by reason of my being out of the way, I shalbe better able to impart to you.

You may perchance heare I am labouring to procure a passe for England (where my Lord Duke of Buckingham was noe farther then Dover), which if I obtayne, *Sec. Nicholas* shall know with the first, and somewhat else too boote, of which noe more now, nor what I vallew for any censure vppon it, being confident of what *Norwich* carryes in his hert for his *God* and his *King*, where I will only be answerable. I pray, Sir, send me another name to whome I may addresse my letters for you, and be pleased to direct yours "à monsieur van Postell, Archier du Roy, rue St Jacques auprès de l'Eglise à Anvers," for by that hand they will comme surest to me, wheresoever I am, which for a while is liklyest to be betweene this and Dunkerk, for I must not let this sent (sc. sent) and

1655. another coole. If I be not mistaken, you may haue heard of somewhat from S^r *Rich. Greenville* tuching somine offers for *his Majestie* ayde, which hath only bin rather to shewe this *peoples* good will (which indeede vniversaly is good) then y^t as yet there could be any probability thereof.

[What] I shall as yet expect in answer to this letter is y^t *his Ma^{tie}*, whose hands with all humility [I mos]t humbly kisse, may by you, Sir, let *Norwich* cleerely know if he haue better hopes from [him] for his secours and how I may gouerne *Norwich* in relation therevnto or to what^a. . . . all in my way heere. Thus haue I made you a most broken vndigested discourse, [but your] goodnes will I know conster to the best, and lose noe time in giving me your answer therevnto, for I can obey to a hayre and minut. I had almost forgot to tell you that by all circumstances the fore-mentioned marchand cam vppon some signall desigine. [He] hath had a shrewd eye vppon the *Island* in *Zeland*, where *Middleburgh* stands.^b You will have heard of a short fight the other day betweene an Englishe Freggat and the two nimble ones of Callice which soe annoyed all theyre neighbors, one whereof is sayd to be sunck and the other taken or vtterly spoyled. What is at Bruxells your Resident there will best informe you. My seruice to my beloued Lord Gerrard, to whome I will write by the next, if he be yet with you, for I love him with all my soule, and soe doth hee my deare Secretary, trust me. And soe with my blessing to my Ned I rest yours all ouer, through, in and indeede to the death.

Endorsed by Nicholas : Ea. Norwich.

^a The paper here, and in other places where words are supplied in brackets, is torn at the edge.

^b This island in Zealand was where Charles lay concealed when he left Cologne, awaiting the summons to England (*Clarendon, Hist.*, v. pp. 410, 426).

COL. ALEXANDER DURHAM.

1655.

RIGHT HONO^{ll},

. . . . I am exceedingly rejoysed that his Majesty still lookes on
 your sonn^a with a favourable aspeckt through all his misfortounes, f. 177.
 which, hou great so euer they may have been, I am confident he
 shall be able to cleare himselfe to his master. They were nether
 wickedly nor traiterously intended, nor knou I who wold not hazard
 both lyfe and fortune to serve with unspotted fidelity so just a
 Prince, who (as the custome of the world is) withdraues not his
 beames from refreshing his faithfull subjects and servants, tho damp
 in the clouds of misfortounes.

My resolution is, Sir, if his Maje. shall think fitting, to goe along
 with the vessell my self privatly as W^m Da[vidsons] servant, resolv-
 ing to steare our course towards the Skye to M^c louds, whence I
 intend to give him speedy notice of my being there. But on thing
 I resolve, if he be in any condition to subsist, which I am confident
 they might doe (wold not our cursed apostates betray them), were
 they but tenn men. I will in that case make on to their number
 and give them the best incouragement I can. Houever, Sir, it
 will not be amisse yee speake in relation to this with his Maje. that,
 in case they be in any condition of subsisting, hou I may carry my
 selfe and what they may expect from abroad, or what other
 commands or instructiones his Maje. will be pleased I should impart
 to them. As for tuo lynes from his Maje. to call him over, yee
 know, Sir, it will be most necessaire for him to have [them], ther
 being many black mouthes; but whither to send it with me, or let
 it awaite him heare, must be left to his Maje. pleasure and your
 judgements. Only may it not be feared ther be some cross
 humores as ill to please there as some are heare. As for your self,
 if yee please to wreat any to him, I shall be most cairfull to deliver
 it; but, in case I should be necessitat to destroy all, I can effectu-

* He means Gen. Middleton.

1655. ally shou him yee are not only a constant freind but a reall father to him indead, besides whom I feare he shall have but feu. Only my L[ord] Or[monde] and the Chanc[ellor] I knou will be his reall freindes still, but so long as his Master thinkes him worthy the ouining. When those litell barkers are weary, they will at lenth be quiet. Mr. D[avidson] hes not yett gott his Maj. lettre, my L[ord] N[ewburgh] resolving to deliuer it him selfe; only I hope the best, he having told me yee had wreat scmthing to him in relation to it. But I leave pressing any further till he gett his Maje. [letter]. I should be glad, Sir, it were within my pouer to rendér you any service, being obleiged to be still a witnes of your vnspotted integrity, both to your Kinges service and to your freindes. Mr. Chan[cellor], it seemes, has some prejudice against me, partly from y^t letter wreat by Mr. D[avidson] to you, of which, being sick that very tyme, I kneu no more of it then the day of dying, he having been provoekt to that extravagancy by some dissentious spirit from amongst you, who keepes constant correspondence with him still. . . .

Your most obedient and most

faithfull humble servant,

ALEX. DURHAME.

Amsterdam, 14 of May, 1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 14 May, 1655.

f. 181. . . . You wilbe disappointed in your expectacion of the D. of Gl[oucesters] commyng, for he is to set forth this day; but his stay hath not beene on Mr. Ch[ancellor], who is not yet in a condition of iournyng, for, though he is not soc extreamey held as before, yet he is not ridd of a great cough and some distemper. . . Its said the States of Holland weré againe on the Dukes departure,

and in regard he stayed soe longe would have resumed their consultation on their last day, but were assured of his remove soe suddenly that they forbeare, soe zealous are they to shew their servitude to that villaine and hatred to the Kings family. 1655

I have not beene able to reade any of the bookes, they being soe scarce; but they say there is not much in them besides the condemning of Penruddock and many more at Exon, but the execution suspended, and the Commissioners of the North returned *re infectâ*. The reason is not rendred. Here is still talke of agreeing with the French, but no certenty. I cannot apprehend the importance of Blakes proceedings, for the French will trade from Marselles to the Levant and Italie in despite of him, though his being there now have somewhat hindred the present loading and the Spaniard will hardly hire another year at that rate. And if he have done it for the present, I cannot conceive that Penn is gone to his Indies. Some talke there is here that Penn hath taken a great number of Dutch shippes, and that he may doe notwithstanding the leauge, as I remember, as well as invade the Spaniardes Indies. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

COL. HERBERT PRICE.

SIR,

Dort, 18 May.

. . . . You must necessarily haue heard y^t the prisonners (our freinds) in England vpon the last vndertakinge are like to be safe as for their liues. All letters speake of it, and Lift. Coll. Doleman^a shewed me a letter to the same purpose, whose intelligencer, I conceaue, should not mistake. I pray giue me leaue to giue you an accompt of our meetinge and conuaise; but I must first tell you y^t f. 187.

^a See above p. 1, note b.

1655. he and I haue bin of old acquaintance and intimate frendship and I doe confesse I loued him better then any man whose acquaintance I had only acqvyred, and to whom I had noe other relation then being the same Princes subiect that he is.

Since before our troubles I haue not scene him vntill the last weeke at the Hagh. The opinion that he had gott by his carriadge in the transaction of the peace betweene the people of these countreyes and Cromwell in reference to his Majesties seruice conuerted my kindnesse to him into hatred, giueing that for granted as was generally conceiued of him, which I was ready to from the coolenesse he seemed to haue all along in our concerne, which made me endeauior to auoyd meeteing with him in a place disaduantagious for me to discourse with him vpon that subiect. But I was not soe wary as to preuent it, for he obserueinge it waited an opportunity to surprise me, which he did, and had me in his arms before I heard or saw him. The first words he used to me was, that he had seuerall times offered himselfe to me and I had shunned him, and that he conceiued the reason of it was from a conceipt I had that he differed from me in opinion, which was not, he sayd, ground enough to make freinds, especially such as wee had bin, to differ in affection, but he beleeued there was noe difference in opinion betweene us in the point I was iealous of him for. I replied, that I was glad to heare him say soe, for he could not be mistaken in me; but in case he should, I assured him that, though generally difference of opinions should not make difference of affections, yet in some cases it ought to breake the nearest relations, and, if in any of these he differed from me, I could not haue the same thoughts of him as I had when wee were first acquainted, but must conclude my selfe to haue bin deceiued and abused in my iudgment of him att that time. He desyred me to leaue this to another times decision, and in the interim to hold the same freedome wee had formerly practised one to the other. Soe wee walked and talked of other things for that time. The next day Coll. Killigrew inuited me to their lodgings to dinner. They both lay in the same house, where he dranke the

Kings health and all the families. He spoake with all the respect and kindnesse imaginably of the King and them. Since I haue mad many discourses with him. He professeth he neuer intended in any seruice he vndertooke for these people a disserruice to the King, for which he hath an argument, but how well it will hold I know not. He blames the stupidity of Christian Princes that they noe more recent (*sc.* resent) the Kings condicion; he blames the diuisions amongst our selues, our want of duty and decency towards the King (he is not ill informed of our Court, wheresoeuer he hath it), and our want of rightly applyinge our industry towards the Kings restauration. These theames he often dilates vppon, and yet he letts fall sometimes odd opinions, as if he were enclyned to a Repub., which in his heart seriously I belecue he is. He will often say that, vnlesse the King should come in, he would be absolutely for settleinge the Gouverment of England Repub. He is noe freind to Cromwell, and sayth nothinge will conduce see much to the Kings restauration as Cromwells assumeinge the Prime and hereditary power, and beleeuues the generallity of the people of England are for a Repub. But I dare swear he is on the wrong side of the bush, when he shoots that bolt.

I haue made this lardge discourse to you that you may see, if you conceiue it worth the paynes, that he may be had for whistlinge, if I am not much deceiued; but a more considerable instrument then my selfe must be employed in it. My Lord of Rochester is the only fitt person, who hath alsoe had a long and a great frendship with him. Mr Oneale both eate with him and had seuerall meeteings with him att the Hagh. If his Majestie please, he may aske him concerneinge the other. It is possible he may giue a better iudgment then I can; but, I beseech you, lett not me be mentioned nor notice taken to any body that I writt of it but (if you thinke fitt) to the King. And lett me intreate you, haueinge perused this, to burne it. I know Doleman to be the best of our nation to command foote, and he is to other businesse a shrew man; he is of a temper and parts for our businesse. And I conceiue we ought to

1655. take as many to our seruice as wee can, espeecially such persons as may be extrordinary usefull, as I belceue he may be. I hope my L^d of Rochester is with you att Collogne; I haue heard noethinge of him since my last to you, but by circumstances he should not be long from you, if he be not all ready arriued to you. . . .

Your very humble servant,

HEN: WHITEMORE.^a

Endorsed by Nicholas: Coll. H. Price.

LORD NEWBURGH.

MY DEARE FATHER,

Hage, May.

f. 189.

Last night late I returned from Amsterdam from y^e good knight, who I find most willing and ready to obey his Majesties commands in all things, particularly this last (in providing a good fisher boate, which is y^e vessel both Durham and Strachan thinkes most fitting for this present expedition), which he receaued only by word of mouth from my selfe, his Majesties letter y^t you sent being by ouer much care so mislaid that it is not to be found. But I haueing read y^e copy told him y^e effect of itt, which he gaue credit too so much at present y^t he is going to haue y^e vessell and all thinges else in readines with all expedition. But I haue promised him to write again to you for his Majesties letter, of which I presume you haue kept a copy, and therefore I do intreat you that it may againe be written, and his Majesty signe itt; and if you will be pleased to send itt hether with y^e first returne which may come before y^e vessell can be fraughted with such commodities as she must be provided with for this voyage. Before y^e chancellor writt to you for his Majesties letter we all here had a meeting, at which all things was considered that could be thought of in order to any

^a For this pseudonym of Col. H. Price see above, p. 262.

advice y^t was necessary to be giuen to y^e L. Generall from hence, as my L^d Napier can particularly informe you ; and none of vs was of an oppinion that such a letter as you mentiond in yours to Strachan was att all necessary to be writt to y^e L. Generall, nor indeed any. As soon as y^e Chancellor and I read your letter we both concluded y^t what you writt was occasiond from something you receaued from Durham, who desired itt out of an ouer officiousnes and so has of late anew desired directions and instructions from his Majesty for him, which in y^e condition Middleton is in is expresly contrary to y^e Chancellors oppinion, he beleiuing itt very vnfit for his Majesty at this time to giue any directions to y^e L. Generall what he is to do, but haueing sent a vessell to leaue itt wholly to himselfe how to dispose vpon his owne person. Indeed, we haue all resolued that a letter of aduice should be writt to him from his freinds here, in which y^e whole State of his Majesties condition and affaires shall be clearly represented to him, and what is in his Majestys power to send him ; and this in y^e Chancellour oppinion is a much fitter way (and will be more vsefull to y^e L. Gen.) then any thing of orders and directions from his Majesty. This I thought fit to advertise you off, because y^e Chan. is not att this time able, else I am sure he would haue writt more fully to you vpon this subject. I haue not yet seen him since my comeing to towne, tho I last night was at his house, but he was newly layd to sleep. He yet is extreame weake, and I feare his sicknes will proue lingering, but I hope not in any daunger of his life.

I did yesterday speak with a very honest merchant, one Patrick Vaus (his Majesty knowes him very well), who came within this twelue dayes from Scotland. He sayes y^t Lorne and all his associats are now joyned with him (*Middleton*). They are about 1000 men in all, and vpon y^e Continent great preparations are made both by sea and land by y^e English against them, who must certainly find itt an easy victory, vnles it will please God to reuiue y^e droopeing speritts of our freinds in England.

I now shall not stirr from y^e Hage till I come for Collen,

1655. which will be as soone as y^e Chancellor can be able to trauaile. I beseech you present my most humble service to my Lord Leintenant, &c., and esteeme of me as one y^t is very really

Your most obedient sonne and
faythfull seruant,

NEWBRUGH.

Remember me to Oneill and tell him y^t I haue sent an Indian gowne and stuff for drawers as he desired me.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

f. 191. You will haue heard how one Col. Oudiart, if I mistake not his name, upon contract with the prince of Condé had brought ouer a considerable number of Irish to his seruice, in which before hee had receiud satisfaction the saide Col. was vnfortunately slaine upon occasion and in the time of the sledge of Arras. His widdow, who was greate with childe, having therupon her recourse to the prince att his returne out of the campagne and not beinge able to obtaine any satisfaction, was att the length counsaile and fauord by some English marchands att Antwerp to make her address vnto Cromwell, who taking compassion upon her did so farr resent her distressed estate as without any other precedent ceremony hee sente to Mr. Barrier, who resides for the prince att London, to complaine vnto him of the prince his maisters vsadge of a person of condition subject of y^e commonwealth, to the protection wherof being calid hee could doe no less then to see her righted, and accordingly hee commanded Mr. Barrier to keepe his howse, where hee had sent some guardes to attend him, till such time as the prince his maister had performd the contract which hee had made with her husband. Nor was that restraint taken of till Mr. de Barrier had paide parte

of the monny due to the widdow (to whome Cromwell sent an ample pass to come into England) and giuen her good security for the rest to bee paide her att 4 seuerall termes. 1655.

This hauing beene tolde mee and seing the marquis de St. Estienne, who was to goe with the Marquis de Leda, to bee still in this towne, I begann to thinke, as I doe still, that this carriadg of Cromwell towards Mr. Barrier might bee the cause of it; wherupon, and calling likewise to remembrance the kinde expressions of the prince upon the occasion of the newes brought hither during his Majestys late retirement that hee had beene taken in England, I addrest myself to the Marquis of St Estienne and told him that, hauinge vnderstood of the princes being ready to go vnto the Helde, I wolde gladly haue y^e honor to kiss his handes, if and when I might doe it with noe trouble to him. Hee answerd that it was true the prince wold bee gonn within a day or two and, if I was desirous to see him before, hee would lett him know it. This was yesternight about 8 a clock. And this morning about 9 the Marquis came to my house and told mee that according to his promise hee did speake last night with the prince, to whome I should bee uery welcome att all times and about the time wee were in, if I thought fitt, with some expressions of his esteeme of mee. Without any more ceremony I gaue order for my coach, to follow mee as soone as it could bee made ready and went with the Marquis in his owne coach to the princes howse, where enquiring what the prince was doing it was told him that the prince was priuate with the president Violee. Wherupon going to the next chamber to that where they were, and there finding a valet de chambre attending, the Marquis wild him to tell the prince I was there; wherupon I was immediately lett in and receiued by the prince very ciuily and kindly. I tooke for the occasion of my waiting upon him to haue the honor to kiss his hands before hee went into the field and to wish him a happy campaigne. Hee thanked mee very kindly, told mee hee intended to bee gonne within 3 or 4 dayes, and for the rest hee must putt himself vpon the euent of the warr. I replied vnto

1655. him that I hoped it wold bee succesful and that I did not speake my sense and desires alone but those of the Kinge my maister, whose name I thought fitt to mention to giue him occasion to speake of his Majesty, which he tooke and begann to enquire of mee where hee was and how hee did, and from thence wee fell into some discourse of the late busines, whose vnsuccess, as hee thought, wolde prooue of aduantage to Cromwell and contribute much towards his more firme establishment. I did beate downe that opinion in time with diuers arguments, and did lett him see that his Majesty would not bee daunted nor disheartned with any accident, but was still confident that, notwithstanding what would happen, God wold restore him vnto his just rights. Wee ended our discourses with some demands hee made to mee and my answers to them concerning the Duke of Yorke and his going into the field, and so I tooke my leaue of him very well satisfied to finde a way open to such future seruice as his Majesty may haue occasion to commande mee to him. His army will be betweene 12 and 14^m stronge, in which Marsin^a hath the charge and quality of captain generall, the Comte de Duras, Mon^r Coligny and Persan those of Lieutenant generals; the Comte de Henin is general of the artillery, and the Duke of Wirtemberg commands the troopes of the King of Spayne, which make a parte of it, for about 7 or 8^m of the army are the prince of Condés owne troopes. You doe heare how one Dr Baily is sent to Rome, and with address, as I heare, to my L. of Worcesters^b brother there. He past by Ghendt almost a moneth since, accompanied with one Mettam, who was once a Jesuite and is very well acquainted with Rome. There are some that thinke that the late proclamation issued in England against the Romane Cath-

^a Jean Gaspard, Count de Marchin, who after attaining the rank of Maréchal de Camp in the French service followed the fortunes of Condé and deserted to the Spaniards in 1651. He was named by Charles to command the troops intended for an expedition to England in 1657, and was made K.G. 23 Feb., 1658.

^b Lord Thomas Somerset, fifth son of the 1st Marquis of Worcester (Collins, *Peerage*, i. p. 233). The 2nd Marquis was a patron of Dr. Bayly.

clicks there is to hinder any ill effects that the sending of this Dr Baily might produce. . . . 1655.

Your Honours

most humble scruant,

DE VIC.

Bruxelles,

20th May, 1655.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 28 May, 1655.

. . . . I knowe not what this treaty with France will at last come too, for now again wee hear it is at a stop and in great appearance to break off, but upon what point is not particularly said. Her Royall Highnesse tells me that Monsieur de Bourdeaux is upon coming away, as despairing of making any conclusion. All this is attributed to the industrie of the Marquis de Leda, who they say hath been receiued at London with great respect and hath offered, as is reported, to put Grauelines and Dunkerk and an Island in the West Indies into the handes of the English. Here is a gentleman lately comed from Scotland, who tells me our friend Middleton is again in the fields and that diuerse of the chief men in the Highlands with their followers resort to him. What he willbe able to doe is incertain. He tells me likewise that Cromwell's sone Henry is to be sent into Scotland to gouerne the cuntrie with a Counsell of 4 English and 4 Scots. The chief of the 4 English is to be Munke, who is also to continue in his command ouer the Militia. He names also Desborough and two other English. The Scots ar to be the Earle of Tweddal, Colonel Lockart, Jaffra of Aberdeen, and a 4th whome I doe not know.^a Of the f. 194.

^a In Council on 4 May the number of the Council in Scotland was fixed at nine (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 152), Monck, Desborough, and Col. Will. Lockhart being members, but neither the Earl of Tweeddale nor Alexander Jaffray. The latter was Provost of Aberdeen, and had been one of the Scotch Commissioners to Charles II. at Breda in 1659 (*Cal. Char. St. Pap.*, ii. p. 51).

1655. rumors that ar at London of Cromwell's purpose to assume the title of King and to restore a parliament consisting of peers and Commons and to proclame a generall pardon to all that haue been convicted or haue been guilty of the late plot I doute not but you will heare more particularly from the place then I can informe you. . . .

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

A. HUME.

COL. HERBERT PRICE.

SIR,

Dort, 20 May.

f. 195. . . . This morninge Collonell Woerden* heareinge of my being in towne came to my bedsyde by sixe a clock. He newly arriued here and came from London on Fryday last ; he went presently to Rotterdam, and intends for the Hague. He told me he thought to goe to Collen, but priuately, and would not stay there aboue one or two days att most ; yet he did not seeme to be very confident in that resolution. In the later end of these discoureries in England he was brought prisoner out of the countrey to London, but presently released. In the infancy of the first designeing the last businesse he made a voyage hither too. I kuow he was trusted by some of our Court in it, yet I am sure that generally our freinds in England haue a great preiudice against him. He told me that it was thought in England that Cromwell had not yet discovered the bottom of that plott. I pray God it be not his businesse here. I cannot accuse him of any guilt my selfe, nor haue I any particuler dis-

* Col. Robert Werden or Worden, of Leyland, co. Lanc., and Cholmeaton, co. Chester ; afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, Major General, and Treasurer to Qu. Mary of Modena (Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ii. p. 178 ; Chester, *Westm. Abbey Reg.*, p. 8). He had been arrested in England in spite of a protection, and his examination on 5 Apr. is given in Thurloe's *St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 337, 348.

opinion of him. I haue kind inclinations to his person as farre as the preiudice that lyes vppon him will giue me leaue, which to me besydes the common opinion is but circumstantiall, which prudentially is ground enough to exclude him from trust, though I conceiue it ought to be soe ordered that he discerne it not. But it is possible that some persons nearer the light of our businesse may vnderstand him better; yet methinks it lookes straingly that he passeth to and fro with that liberty he doth vnquestioned, and that he should now doe it soe suddainely after an imprisonment (if it were reall). 1655.

What I formerly wrote to you concerneinge Cromwells preparation for his coronation (I conceiue the coyneing of money with his owne effigies and a great seale of the same with the armes of the three Kingdomes vppon the reuerse of them is in order to it) I beleeeue to be very true, though it is not generally knowne, and many are of an other opinion; for I haue it from a hand that professeth to know it, and Col. Woerden saith that Cromwells common discourse is that the three Kingdomes cannot be gouerned any other way but by a King, and that he professeth to be very sorry for it, and it is from that meere necessity which he seeth vnavoydable that he must assume the power and title. Lift. Coll. Doleman told me that Lambert and Monck are his great abettors to it, and that, if Monck could haue bin wonne from him, which was endeaoured by those that are for a Republic, he could neuer doe it. He is perswaded, or seemes to be soe, that Monck hath the greatest interest in the souldi[ers].

Many of our people are very foolish and malicious. Some of them that obserued my walkinge and discourseing with Lift. Coll. Doleman haue, as I am informed, spoaken of it with preiudice to me, which may alsoe be brought to his Maties eares. I beseech you, present my most humble duty to his Matie; and I most humbly beseech him to beleeeue this truth, that I was neuer a knave to him and am confident I neuer shalbe. I haue and will serue him as

1655. well and as wisely as I can, though I confesse the best that I can wilbe foolish enough, but I am sure it is with good intention. . . .

Your most humble seruant and
most affectionate,

HEN: WHITMORE.

I had a lettre yesterday from Rob. Pheelips,^a who writes not a word off news nor any thing of my Lord of Rochester.^b If you heare of him, I pray impart it; and if he be att Collen, which I hope he is, lett him know that I am his humble seruant. I pray impart noethinge I write to any but the King and him, and haueinge perused them burne my letters I earnestly intreate you.

Endorsed by Nicholas: Coll. Herb. Price.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

28. Paris, the 21 of May, 1655, st. no.

f. 196

. . . . I doubt not but you haue heard of the arriual of the D. of Buckingham, who lay hid some dayes heere and now appeares not at our Queenes Court, but the grandees vissit him. My Lo. Belcaris is coming towards you to driue on the Presbiterian interest. Wee haue noe newes out of England but what is very bad, and be

^a Col. Robert Pheelipps, 2nd son of Sir Robert Pheelipps, Knt., of Montacute, co. Som.; Gent. of the Chamber to the Duke of Gloucester, and after the Restoration Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, M.P. for Stockbridge and Andover, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1657), etc. (*Archæologia*, xxxv. p. 343). He is best known as having materially assisted in effecting the King's escape from England after the battle of Worcester (Clarendon, *History*, ed. 1849, v. p. 239).

^b For the story of his narrow escape at Aylesbury at the beginning of April, when he made his way to London and thence to Flushing, see Thurloe, iii. p. 335, Clarendon, v. p. 419, and *Col. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 43.

confident our party are much disvnited and disordred by the late 1655.
ill success as wee call it on this side the water, though they christen
it by another name in England. I wonder that those there im-
ployed should be shy of writing, for I am confident wee know many
truthes and secrets thence. But I beleeeue there may be there some
ministres d'estat that will beleeeue nor value naught but what comes
from their owne correspondents, and by my consent such should
haue noe other. My sonne went with a resolution to informe you
about an ordinary pitch, and he assures me, if my sending for him
preuent it not, he will doe it, for, if he will giue himselfe the dis-
satisfaction of it, he can converse with those of the first rang. The
lady Kenelmeaky^a is expected heere this night. Your frend Sir
John Barkley is a grandee, and *D. Yorke* reserues all his kindnes
for *Sr Jo. Berkly* and *Lo. Jermin*, *M^r Bennet* being not at all
looked on vnless with an ill eye. *D. Yorke* is to much entertained
with vnseemly and false things of *Sr E. H.* and they sinke in. *Sr*
Jo. Berkly next vnto *Sr G. Ratcliff* is the great champion for the
Papists, and *Lo. Jermyn* is very constant to his *Presbiters* and to
Charenton. *Sr G. Ratcl.* assures vs all he hath sett you all in a
right way att Collogne by a treaty he driues on with *Rome* by some
French Bishop, etc.; but my prayer shallbe that wee stay not for that
helpe. If any thing be to be done at *Rome*, I doubt not but it is
better thought on with you there then him heere and willbe more
discreetly and secretly managed. It is a subiect wherein bussy
bodies may doe much hurt and the discreetest but little good, I
feare, though perhaps some. . . .

Your most humble seruant,

S. S.

^a See vol. i. p. 174, note.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 May, 1655.

f. 199. . . . The greatest newes here is of the conclusion with France, though all agree the articles not signed. I cann presume nothinge of the event, though, if it be a truth that Cr[omwell] hath told the Spanish minister that any attempts beyound the lync are noe breach of treaty, it signifies his designe very plainly. I heard, that the marchants trading [with] Spaine petitioned him that there was doubt, if any thing were attempted on the Indies, they should suffer in Spain and therefore desired directions. His answer was there was noe intent to breake any leauge (*sc.* league), but, if they were assaulted, they should defend themselves, and that, if any were doubtfull to trade, they should forbear. And I heare the Commissioners here for settling the trade speake as if they had expectacion of action in the Indies, but yet it doth not convince me, and I wayte still for the event. Its strange that one of their books of this weeke speaks of S^r Jo. Wagstaffs breaking the bridges in Cornwall, which surely is a mistake and I cannot suppose why it is done. I heard that there were divers letters of this weeke that speake confidently that the Levellers wilbe spedily vpp against Cr[omwell]. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

 COL. ROBERT PHELIPPS.

SIR,

Antwerpe, y^e 21 May, 1655.

f. 201. . . . Y^e execution of our freinds in y^e West^a is, I doubt not, ere this knowen to you. I am fallen into an acquaintance with a

* Penruldock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter on 8 May, the rest having been hanged the day before (*Perfect Diurnall*).

most eminent Leueller,^a who was soe kind as to reade 4 letters to me which he had out of England by y^e last post, which all agree in this one thing, y^t Cromwell will speedily downe by y^t faction. They seeme to intimate a late defection of some of Cromwells party to theire faction, as alsoe of many of y^e iudges; in fine, they all assure him of a speedy returne into England to take a seuere reuenge of his enimies. To all this I answered him y^t, suppose all this fall out according to his desire, yeat I could not perceauue how y^e nation shuld receaue any aduantage thereby, since euen theire party, if they admitt not y^e King, must be forced to keepe vpp an army and consequently taxes. He told me y^t, if things were hansonly managed, y^e King and Kingdome both might receaue great benefitt thereby. I would make noe farther discourse with him vntill I had receaued directions from you. I will assure you he is y^e principall man of y^t faction now out of Cromwells power. He is very ciuill to me and communicatiue.

Sir, I shall stay here some time by reason of a sad accident. S^r Tho. Stanly (a most gallant young gentleman highly affectionate to y^e King, one who had alsoe courage, interest, fortune, and great intentions and resolutions to serue y^e King) was 10 days since killed in a duell and his Lady is here with me.^b She came out of England with my wife, and I cannot leaue her in this afflicted condition vntill her freinds come to her and she returne for England. I haue ordered Mr. Manning^c to leaue with you 3 souer-

^a This (see below, p. 342) was the notorious Col. Edward Sexby, the Anabaptist, who had been engaged in Wildman's plot but had managed to escape to the continent (Thurloe, iii. pp. 162, 165, 194).

^b From a letter of the Earl of Norwich (below, p. 339) it appears that the whole story was an imposture on the part of the lady.

^c No doubt Henry Manning, the spy, for whose treachery at this time see Clarendon, v. pp. 422-429. Numerous letters from him to Thurloe, from 13 Mar. 1655 onwards, are in Thurloe's *St. Pap.*, iii. p. 190. *seq.*, and a series of eleven, May-July, in the *Col. St. Pap.*, 1655, p. 192 *seq.* Being at length detected he was shot in Dec. 1655 by Col. James Hamilton and Major Armorer in a wood near Cologne (Thurloe, iv. pp. 293, 718).

1655. aignes, 7 pistolls and 4 rix dollars, which I shall desire you to keepe for y^e use of, Sir,

Your most faythfull and humble seruant,

ROBERT PHELIPPS.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, May 25, 1655.

f. 203. Yours of the 18 and 20 I haue receiued since my comming from Bruges on Fryday last vppon a most sad accident of S^r Thomas Stanly his death by a duell with one Mr. Young, formerly his freind, whoe dyed alsoe at the same time by his wounds neare each other close to Flushing, iust as his lady was on her way thither from hence to visit him, whoe was only sayd not to be well. At Bruges it was my fortune to meete her in the company of Collonell Phillips and his wife, my kinswoman, most worthy, worthy persons and of the surest best tryed seruants to *his Majestie*. And as for this gallant young gentleman, cosen german only once remoued to my lord Darby deceased, tis not to be expressed what a *losse the King* had by *his death*, as I shall let you know more particularly heereafter, euen to his *Majesties* subsistance at this his low ebb, of which must be noe noyse, least *his lady*, whose heart is the same, might *suffer* by it. *She* was pleased to desire *my* being neare *her* at this time, being got out of *England* all alone one way whilst *her husband* got another, resolving to make theyre *aboade* on *this side the Seas*.

And thus much for the sad occasion of my returning soe soone hither agayne, hauing resolued 15 days longer at least betweene Dunkerk and Bruges for an account of some *busines* from *England*, where, as I wrote you, I was indeauouring to procure a *passe* the better to facilitat what *I* was there treating, and taking of the *feares my freinds* had of corresponding with *Norwich*, as alsoe to

be nearer the brother of the *Secretary of the Archduke*. and some others vppon y^t score, whoe sleepe not in *the business*, trust me, hoping thereby to render them selues the more considerable, knowing full well by what not long before had bin insinuated to them concerning somme addresse of ciuility to *the Duke of Gloucester*, on whome they had wayted when he passed by y^t way. But, as the prime person tould me, he did beleeeue he should not get any possitiue direction therein till first they should heare at *Court* what successe *the Marg. of Leda* had in *England*. This party, a most knowing and not lesse intrusted person, is sufficiently informed how desperatly ruinous it wilbe to *K. of Spain*, if he close not betimes with the *King of England*, beginning now to beleeeue what *I* haue soe long foretould them concerning *Cromwells* desseign in the *West Indies*. For it is as sure *Pens fleete* is by this time there as *I* am heere, if not miscarryed (which is not probable) since the 15 of March last, when they left *S^t Christophers island*, of which *Ea. Norwich* saw yeasterday soe full and satisfactory letter written thence y^e 15 of March last to a beloued of his encouradging all his freinds to follow, as *I* am noe more to dispute the verity thereof; which letter, togeather with my former merchands relation, whoe was pressed much by *Cromwell* to goe pryme commissioner in that *fleete*, and a master of a ship y^t is to follow with the next supply, sufficiently confirms me in his former beleefe for this *business*. And then this taking effect, what hath *Spayne* to doe next for his preservation but immediatly to close with *the King of England*, of which within a weeke more *I* shall giue you better account, for all our bookes are out.

One very neare severall persons of eminency about the *Prince of Condé* tells me what advertisement commes from his agents in *England* to him and them of our *King* being betrayde by *Cromwells* instruments about his *Ma^{tie}*, to which *I* for my part giue smale credit, except only to somme creeping spies not much considerable. For as for any of his *Councell* or neare his person, except my selfe, whoe is sayd cannot keepe *Councell*, *I* dare cleereely engage my

1655. life for them. This *Prince*, his *Princesse* and all his followers are driven to greate *wants* and most of them not in case to goe into the *fiell*. And as for the *Army* of *K. Spayne* now *marching*, which will not be above 18,000, I never knew greater *disorder*, especially with the *Irishe*, which is not likly to *stay long* with them, soe *ill* have they *bene vsed*. The plate *Fleete* is reported heere to be returned safe, but from London tis written other wyse. All which I send you, y^t you may the better guesse [wh]at is next to be made vse of for our present condition, which God in his mercy will change, I doubt not, for, though thus we are reduced for our sinnes, those gallants have litle to hope for from theyre virtues. Tis most certeine the Pope labours most vigourously for an inediat cessation of Armes, which the Cardinall says his master wilbe content withall, conditionall his Hollinesse will take the Prince of Condé into his custody, as answerable for him, and cause the Duke of Lorayne to be released, two articles only, but like Charles Chesters 3 sinnes, when he cam to confession, which he sayd were rappers. This I now had from a domesticque of confidence in the *Prince* of *Condé*'s house, with this addition y^t, if the Pope helpe *him* not, he knows not what will becommme *of him*. But still, say I, what is this to vs more then to take our full prospect of all and cease (*sc.* seize) on what may be in any kinde vsefull to vs as occasion shalbe offerd.

I have not as yet seene these weekes letters from *London*; when I doe, you shall soone haue what commes to me. But as for the present, I can only say *cailler* (*sc.* caler) *la voile* is our only case at this present there till God in his goodnes prepare better for vs; whilst *Cromwell* declares (as I am credibly tould was reported to y^e Lord Commissioner Lile,^a now dismounted) that he would not quit his hopes to possesse what he now doth 8 yeares longer to be

^a John Lisle, Commissioner of the Great Seal since 1649. He was not "dis-mounted," but continued in office, after the dismissal of his fellow Commissioners, Whitelock and Widlington, till May, 1659.

sure of the prime saints place in Heaven, a speeche y^t may doe our work and will, if trew, as it is vowed to me to be. There are certainly 14 new Fregats of 80 brasse peeces readdy to sett to sea, besides all the other going with supplyes to Blake and Pen, which will cost full deare if eyther miscary; for you best know, Sir, what the returne of a Fleete will call for, as well as the setting it foorth in its proportion. And what order is yet taken for raysing of such vaste summes? As for the peace with France, whither signed or not, which is diuersly written, it doth not much trouble my thoughts, for tis but to entertayne each other till this campagne be ouer or well enterd, I assuring my selfe that neyther it nor Hollands peace shalbe long liued, finding euery day more and more to confirme me in y^t oppinion, I conversing dayly where (*sic*), and observing by infallible marks as I doe, and should doe more, did not *Res argusta domi* obstruct my passage. You heare of the 20 Holland shippes, of which 18 taken at the Barbadoes are haled away with Pens Fleete to serue in that desigine and the reason giuen y^t they violated an act made to the forbidding theyre trade there.^a And the reason why Pens Fleete goes to Cuba or those Ports is by way of retortion for the Isle of Providence, which the Spaniard tooke from the Englishe, like y^t of Amboigne, which was the first pretence against the Hollander. Consider this throughly, and then tell me if this may not prove somewhat in time. There is an Independent in these parts that speakes buggswords^b and that alowde too. Is it still thought vnfit that some well waighed declaration should comme out in the Kings name to secure all partyes, and by y^t meanes to work them firme to y^e right ends? But I haue abused your patience over long; pardon it, and love him y^t is, my deare secretary,

Your faythfullest and all vowed servant to y^e death,

S. S.

S.

Endorsed by Nicholas : Ea. Norwich.

^a See Whitelock, ed. 1732, p. 625.

^b "Buggswords, fierce, highsounding words," Halliwell, *Archaic Dict.*

1655.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, May 25, 1655.

f. 205.

Having concluded, included and excluded my other composed of matter of State to noe purpose, giue me leau to write this to your selfe, as the other was to your office, *en amy, patron, et en vn mot tout*, praying you, when you see my Lord Marquis Ormond, to present my most humble seruice to him, and to tell him I would haue agayne seconded my last to him after the receipt of his in answer to my former, but y^t I feard he should haue thought I rather did it to mynde him of his promise for Gubb (which I haue litle reason now to expect) then for the respect I really beare him. And soe much for y^t point, which but pointed at is enough to answer another point of your letter about my comming to Collogne; which I am noe more able at present to doe then remoue the Howse I now write in, not hauing receiued a penny out of England since my poore Lt Reade hath bin in captiuitie, whoe iust at that time, as my cosen Phillips tould me, had monny readdy to send me. Had it not bin for the most vnexpected accident of two late rencounters in my rambling towards the seaside there to setle my litle commerce with England, I had bin driuen to an extremity past expression, which is drawing on apace agayne, if some such like vnexpected supply chance not, which I cannot foresee. God helpe me. When your great chancellor comes, or what he will or can doe when he doth commie, litle troubles my thoughts, neyther thereof going to market. May he be prosperous to my sacred master in his Councells, and he shalbe sure of me in what belongs to my part, which is pure obedience. I thinking to goe from Dunkerk to Callais sent to Mons^r Robert to procure me a passe, but he writes me word it could not be obtayned for me, by which you may iudge what a Spaniard I am thought.

My sonne iust as he was coming out of Spayne was taken with a

sharpe fitt of the gout, which detaynes him there for a time till it be 1655.
gonne, and then he intends not to stay long after. In a word, Sir,
I am now at a dead losse, not knowing what to think his Ma^{ty} can
doe next, vnlesse the Pope or Pen act somewhat y^t may imediatly
turne the scales of the present coniuncture; for, as to what concernes
my owne poore indiuiduall, I am armed against all euent and defly
fortune to her teeth, resolving, if his Ma^{ties} condition mend not, to
get me somewhere, where I may not be a scorne to lookers on, since
I cannot goe through what not long since I thought I might haue
donne. Be pleased I may haue your next directed hither, though
I prayd Mr. Clotterbook (a very worthy honest gentleman, were
he not my Neds freind, as I am not) to pray Ned that all my letters
might be directed to him at Bruges for me, and by that time I
shalbe better enabled to say somewhat more to you for what my
next stepp may be.

The barberous vsage of my greatest enemy the Duke of Gloeester
(whose slaue I am) I may yet liue to reuenge. But shall Mens^r
Oneale be his gouernor? What is becommen of my other beloued
support? My minde giues me we shall see a strange turne before
3 moneths comme to an end. . . .

Yours to y^e death,

S. S.
S.

My Lord Duke of Buckingham is well in the Court at Paris
Mr. Roberts writes to me y^t he conceiues he might haue a
passe to come into France, if he might haue commission to
moue the Queene our mistris for it, which is a thing I shall
not doe.

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT Hon^{ble},

Hage, 25 May, 1655.

f. 166.

. . . . Wee heere have heard nothings of the Independent officers that are come over, and vnlesse the intelligence be the surer, I am apt to doubt whether there were any of that crewe soe farr engaged as to shew themselves in the busines of Salisbury, and, if soe, these, I beleeve, are the first of them that ever fled from the new power. But vnlikelyhoods are not impossible, and, though I know it is very counceable to vnite all factions against the present vsurper, and that there may be cause not to professe the end of our attempt, yet it growes very desperate, when such as rise for the King cannot owne his interest. But it may be said that tyme will produce it. In the meane tyme it seemes the proper strength cannot be relyed on; and as now these men would possesse vs that this is the way of doing the worke, soe heretofore Cr[omwell] and others abused the Kinge that the actions they did against him were in order to his restitution. Its certeyne the Independents will never endure a proclamacion of the King, but why his party were soe tender may arise rather from their fears and backwardnes then opinion of the way. I beleeve the Kings party that made the proclamacion had some consultacions before their risinge, and, if there had byn counsell to the contrary from these wary men, either they would not have rose or proceeded against advise; but I feare there was not a formed party and that such as bringe informacions from England rather tell what will please then what is the true state of mens vndertakings. And truly I professe my owne iudgment, vpon the light I have by those experiences that are past, to differ from theirs that would declare only against Cr[omwells] Tiranny. For the Kings party are well knownen and wherever they appeare the meanyng is knowen to the factions, who shunn them with all aversion, and there are a very few that will rise vpon the score of taxes. They have beene longe vsed to them before Cr[omwells]

Goverment. And some write from England that the K's party 1655. suspected those that rose as a part of the army that came away to betray such as should ioyne with them. And I thinke this way would prove little other then the covenant in Scotland, which how it vnited wee have seene. For a declaracion, there was a necessity of one, and why it was not desired I know not, if men were in earnest. Wee heard in the last books of dayes of execucion appointed; what is done wee shall heare shortly. I thinke it very much concerns Cr[omwell] that his designe take in the Indies, for surely it will touch him very neere both in point of mony and reputacion and the common discontent. I writ in my last touching the delivery vpp of the seale^a and the contempt of the Commissioners towards Cr[omwell] at the doinge of it; and I looke, as I was told by one, that there wilbe newes of great things this day. Whether the prediction will prove true a few houres will discover. . . .

Colonell Worthen is come to this towne, and I thinke will shortly be with you at Collen. I finde the French Ambassador desires to have it beleeved that the peace is made, though not signed. Some report that there are still some impediments to it. I doubt nether my Lo. of Ro[chester] nor Mr Ar[morer] nor S^r Jo[seph] W[agstaffe] are yet landed. I wish they were. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a The Great Seal was not actually taken from Whitelock and Widdrington, on their refusal to put into force the new ordinances for the Court of Chancery, until 6 (16) June (Whitelock, p. 626).

1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

f. 209b.

. . . The Marq. de Leda was att his arriual att Douer welcomd there by a gentleman of the Grand Protector, with whome also a coach was sent to bringe him to Grauesende. Att his landing att Towre wharfe there were 3 of Crom[wells] owne coaches and some 50 more, most parte with 6 horses, to attende him, and in the first Crom[wells] eldest sonne and 2 of his Counsell.^a There ware many compliments between the Marq. de Leda and Crom[wells] sonne for the place, but att the length it was forced upon this last, who brought the Ambassador to late Sr William Abrams^b howse, where from the Saturday till the Twesday the Ambassador was treated and then had to his audience, where att his thirde reuerence, as likewise att his taking leaue, Crom. did him the honor to embrace him ouer the shoulder. The same day the post came away the Amb^r had a priuate audience, wherein what did pass betweene them wee may know some thing by the next post or before. They beginn here to bee of opinion that Cromwell hath no other designe then to amuse both them and the French, and I am much of their minde ; but withall (which are my owne priuate thoughts) that to preuent a peace betweene the two Crownes hee doth finde no surer way then to gett such an aduantage upon either of them as that of the two upon which hee shall haue gott that aduantage shall not dare to make it without his consent. And so the warr shall last as long as hee pleaseth, wherof hee cannot otherwise in

^a Walter Strickland and Col. Edw. Montague (see the Orders of Council in *Cal. St. Pap.*, 1655, p. 151).

^b A mistake for Sir Abraham Williams, whose house in Palace Yard was frequently used for the entertainment of ambassadors at a rent of £75 a quarter (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1654, p. 450). He had been Clerk of the Siglet and agent in London for the Queen of Bohemia and died in Aug., 1654 (*Chester, Westm. Abbey Reg.*, p. 136).

reason promise himself the continuance, but that both the Spaniards and French, rather then bee still exposd to Cromwells affronts and insults, will with the new popes interuention strike vp a peace upon any conditions. Whither it bee to that ende or no, the opinion still continues that Penns designe is on some partes of the West Indies of the King of Spaynes dominions, which though these men seeme to apprehende very little upon D. Alonso de Cardenas his assurances that there is no cause so to doe, and some that haue been in those partes affirme that two of the best Islands in the bay of Mexico wold not counteruaile a quarter of y^e expenses the English haue made in this expedition, I belecue they wold bee startled to heare that Penn had made himself maister of either Cuba, Hispaniola or Jamayca and beginn to bee persuaded that in such a case the kinge their maister wolde finde it a matter of no little difficulty and perhaps impossibility to gett his plate fleetes to pass but att the mercy of the English. Wherin for to haue them to bee fauorable I know not what that King wold or durst refuse them. Which when in my priuate thoughts I apply to the Kinge our Maisters affaires, I fall uery much in the expectations I might otherwise haue of the Kinge of Spaynes concurrence or coniunction with us, and to thinke I haue cause to feare that the uery same reasons, which wold oblige that Kinge (if hee durst) both in pointe of honor and interest to the last resentments, wold force him to sitt downe to all those affronts and preiudices which should cause in him that resentment rather then, by struggling and using of vaine endeauors to recouer losses and repaire past preiudices, draw upon himself his apparent vtter ruin. I pray you pardon this discourse, which I did not thinke to enter into when I did beginn my letter and to lett me know when you expect Mr. Chancellor, from whome I haue heard nothing neare upon three weekes. You will see in one of the adioind where my L. D. of Buck. is now and hath lately beene. I am

Your Honors most humble servant,
V.

1655.

COL. ROBERT PHELIPPS.

SIR,

Antwerpe, y^e 28th May, 1655.

f. 213.

. . . . I am much of your opinion y^t some vnder y^e pretence of Leuellers haue bin Cromwells spies, but y^t the man whom I mentioned to you in my last is mortally Cromwells enimie I dare pawne my life. Neither doe I much doubt but y^t that party will speedily enterprise some thing against Cromwell to y^e purpose. I wish wee were provided against such an accident. S^r Thomas Stanley had an estate in Lanchashire, but y^e place where he and his father made theire residence was in Essex. My Lady knows not certainly y^e name of his Lanchashire scate. He was slaine by one Young, a Deuonshire man, who was alsoe killed. Sir, y^t there is a late reuiuing of y^e oath of Abiuration is most true,^a but y^t it is only intended to abuse y^e Presbi[terians] and honest Protestants is as true. There is too good an vnderstanding betweene y^e Ro. Cath. and Cromwell, of which I shall say more vpon knowledge when I see you. In y^e interim you may be assured y^t y^e Jesuists know too well what passes at our court, and I know full well y^t Cromwell receaues constant intelligeence from y^{em}; therefore y^e Ro. Cath. are more to bee courted or else less trusted. Wee heare for certain y^t y^e treaty betweene France and Cromwell is vtterly broken off; this comes from France and England both. I heare nothing of y^e marquise of Leda his propositions. As for Gen. Blake he hath donn great things against Tunis; he hath sunke and burned 9 great gallions in y^e harbour and many smaller vessels. There is a supply going to him, most victualls, y^e men of warr being meerly for conuoy

Your most faythfull and obliged seruant,

RO. PHELIPPS.

^a See the Protector's proclamation of 24 April in *Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 139.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

1655.

HONOURABLE SIR.

Hage, May 28th, 1655.

I haue not had since y^e last account I gaue you any farther discourse with *S^r Ed. H[ylde]* vppon y^e busyness, nor indeede did I profer at a second conference, findeing him resolved not to vnbeleieue any thing which hee had before bin possess'd with; so greate impressions doe y^e first informations make. . . . f. 215.

As for y^e Informer, I can vppon very good grounds call him Mr *Knight*,^a for y^e traine I layd to discover him I beleieue did not miss. Hee should not haue parted with this towne as hee did vnquestyoned, had not som higher considerations swayd mee and that I hope to make a more full discovery of him, though I beleieue you and your sonns will be obliged to conceale him. But iff *S^r E. H.* shall press this any farther to my prejudice, the informer will not bee out of my reach, let him retireit whither hee will; and I will either finde satisfaction or loose my selfe. Pardon, Sir, this passion; I am not naturally inclined to repay injurys in their owne coyne, nor doe I hate at so high a degree as I loue. But to suffer so greate a prodigy of baseness to goe vntroll'd were an injury to humane society. For admitting (but not granting) all to bee true which hee hath informed, can there bee a greater act of baseness then to betray a confident? And iff hee bee y^t greate Freinde to *S^r Ed. H.* which *S^r Ed. H.* beleieues him to bee, why did hee not contradict the discourse? Iff so tender a person of his honour, why did hee not, while I was vpon the place and y^e busyness fresh, informe agaynst mee? But I was takeing a long and hazardous journey and little probability of my returne or at least not so soone as I did, all which are excellent encouragements

^a So apparently deciphered, meaning John Knight, who attended Hyde as a surgeon (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 365), and in 1658 was surgeon to the King (*Archæologia*, xxxv. p. 342). But the name is scratched through with the pen.

1655. for so base an vndertakeing. I doe not know what excellency som may finde in his parts (for som certaynly they doe either finde or fancy, or els the manage of y^e Affaires of *two countys*, which he braggs of, would not be committed to him); the judgement of the most of him is y^t hee is a pragmatycal, empty, fawneing, insinuateing fellow. For my part, when I came to Cologne, I found him in my freindes company, and vppon y^t score expected hee would haue bin mine too, but I beleieue hee is now as little in som mens vawew as hee deserues to bee in myne or in his to whom hee hath by a false representing of mee made himselfe so highly acceptable. For bee pleas'd (to omit diuers odd expressions which haue falne from him) to obserue this short story. At his coming from Dort to this towne, the first night hee came hee shewd mee a *letter from S^r E. H.* to him, which when hee had read, I told him I thought *S^r E. H.* was much his freinde. "Pox," says hee, "*Capt. Mews*, hee is my freinde only because I giue him ease when hee has y^e goute and am serviceable to him in my profession." I write nothing but what I haue wytness of, and, iff I will credit som whom I haue reason to beleieue, hee hath said as base things of *S^r Ed. H.* as are imaginable. But I desire not to bringe my freindes on y^e stage, or doe I thinke recrimination justifies any mans Innocence; yet it lessens y^e reputation of y^e informer and makes his authority less valid. My hope is, when you haue heard all y^t can bee sayd (and I expect all y^t can will), you will rather judge of mee by those many yeares you haue knowne mee then by those few months in which I haue bin accused. All my designes haue bin, and ever shall be, built vppon Religion and honour, and were *S^r Ed. H.* well acquaynted with my temper and inclination, hee would haue a much more kinde and cleere opinion of mee then I perceiue hee hath. . . . As for *S^r E. H.* himselfe, this shall not make mee less his servant, and though hee will not beleieue y^t hee is abused in y^e report, yet I, knowing that hee is, will serue him as occasion shall offer. . . .

Your most faythfull and most humble servant,

I doe not know who *S^r E. H.* imparts his minde to ; but I can assure you I haue met with som things which I beleue hee did not intend should bee publike (iff at least hee sayd them at all). One of y^e most materiall is, that hee did not feare what ever any one could *do against him*, except *Ea. Rochester*, who hee did beleue had a good interest in *the King* ; but I scarce beleue hee sayd any such thing at all, for y^t were to quit the justice of y^e cause and to rely on y^e Judges favor. I can easily perceiue that there are greate sideings and factions makeing vp and down, and wee talke much heere of a Remonstrance drawing vp by the *Presbiterians*. I dare hardly giue my opinion, since som of my former letters haue met with so severe a censure ; yet when you shall licence mee, I shall bee free.

Mr. *Bemont* told mee yesterday y^t *Crumwell* begins mightily to caress y^e old *divines* in *Edenburgh*, and y^t many are restored to their *livings*. Hee tells me y^t Dr *Taylor* in particular preaches vp *subjection* to y^e Power in beeing, though vsurped. I hope by y^e next weeke to bee more particularly informed of this from y^e Party who told him ; but at present hee is not heere. One of my correspondents is in prison at *Oxford*, y^e other lys close in y^e Country.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

R^t Ho^{ble},

Paris, 28 May, 1655.

... That Mr. *Lovel* had money from England to supply y^e Duke of *Gloster* for his remove from *Paris*, I had it from y^e Countesse of *Sunderland*, who had some hand in sendinge it. Her late husband was cosin *Jernain* to my wife,^a to whom she tould it,

* Radcliffe married Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Trapps-Bernard, of Harrogate.

1655. to let me know so much. I desired secrecy, in respect of y^e person from whom it came; but the thinge it selfe is true and may be proved. I believe it will not be denied. And more then that, *Mr. Lovel* tould me that it was a thinge feasible to procure *maintenance* for y^e Duke of Gloucester out of England, if *the King* thought fit; which for ought I see might wery well be given way to.

The Parlement here are not pleased, but doe nothinge. Many of y^e chief of y^e Councillors are out of Towne, perhaps to be absent from a meetinge of all the chambers which was designed to have bene on Munday or Tuesday last. The court hath an eye over them, and is thought to stronge for them. Some ghesse that the noise which is confidently published of peace betwene France and Cromwell is more to awe them then that it is really concluded; yet it is confidently believed (that there wilbe a peace) at y^e Pallais Royal. Wee say Munday last was appointed by Cromwell for sealinge the articles, though wee have infidells that will not believe it to be so forward. I thinke y^t it cannot be imagined y^t Cromwell will suffer France to bee maisters of Flanders, nor to bringe Spaine so lowe as not to be able to ballance France, whatever designe Cromwell may have in y^e West Indies.

I have talked with some friendes, but wee utterly despaire to get from Charenton any lettres to expresse (to y^e ministers of Holland) their dislike of y^e States of Hollands proceedinge against the D. of Gloucester, though the thinge it selfe be a barbarisme without example. Mons^r Drilincourt, who came here to congratulate y^e Dukes constancy, did professe (as I am tould) to come of himselfe, without any further authority from his brethren. One told mee that there was a consultation amongst some of y^e Religion in Paris to have presented the Duke (whilest he was here) with some money for his journey. But what summe? Mary, with 50 pistols, which is as much as 37^u 10^s sterlinge.

It is a great while since I heard any thinge of my lo. Newbrugh; onely one tould mee yesterday a pretty story of him, y^t he must

marry Mr. Chancelours daughter ^a (who waites of y^e Princesse Royall) and so by y^e Chanc. meanes be engaged in all the Scots affaires. The Chanc. has much talke of him at y^e Pallais Royall, where he is thought to be a powerfull man at y^e Court at Cologne. A person of honor would needs persuade mee that y^e Princesse R. had provided for 3 of his children (which was 2 more then I had heard on). But I beseech you, if you know where my L. Newburgh is, or what he does, let mee heare from you at your leysure. My lo. of Buckingham lyes here in these fauxbourgs (as I heare, for I have not scene his L^p). I cannot perceive that he comes to y^e Pallais Royall; I heare y^t his lodgings there are disposed of. Mr. Longe has lived a good while at Rouen; the last weeke he came to Paris. I heare he dined with my lo. Jermyn. On Weddensday I met S^r Edw. Herbert at y^e D. of Yorkes chamber; I had not scene him of a great while before, for he never comes to our church at S^r Richard Brownes, though he lodgeth in the same street. Be pleased, when you write to mee, to direct your lettre without any covers onely à Mons. Mons. de Colton (for I send one to y^e post to fetch them). And now wee pay for covers, y^e price of lettres beinge raised here by a new imposition from 10 livres a pound to 20 livres.

Cardinal Mazarine hath a niece,^b who should have bene married to Mareshall Millerays sonne; the yonge man was not forward therein. They say that of late shee is growen more handsome then shee was. It is in every mans mouth that the Kinge makes court to her exceedingly *day and night*. *She may shortly be y^e French Queene*, as some confidently *beleeve*, though I cannot be of that opinion

Your Honours most humble servant,

DE COLTON.

^a Anne Hyde, who made a more exalted match. Newburgh married Catherine, dau. of Theophilus Howard, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, and widow of George Stewart, Lord Aubigny.

^b Olympia Mancini, who in 1657 m. Eugène Maurice of Savoy, Count of Soissons.

1655.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

f. 222.

If what I doe heare of the Treatie in England with M^r de Bourdeaux can contribute to your satisfaction or add to what you haue of it from better handes, I shall willingly make it parte of my weekely letters vnto you. You know how a few dayes before the Marq. de Ledas arriuall att London it was so farr aduanced as all things were agreed upon and the treatie sent to bee engrossed; but it went no further upon the newes of the Marq. his beinge landed, not through any fault in the Ambassador, who finding himself deluded wrote into France the 12 of this moneth that hee purposed the day following to take his leaue, vnles hee did presently receiue better satisfaction. But hee was preuented by Cr[omwells] two Commissioners Strickland and Haselrig, who went that day to M^r de Bourdeaux and desired him to signe a paper which they offerd to him; but the Ambassador answered that hee could not doe it, as verry much differing from what had bene agreed betweene them by word of mouth. The Comm^{rs} replied it contained Cr[omwells] finall resolution, and so leauing the Ambass^r went directly to M^r Newport to acquaint him with the saide paper and what had passed upon it betweene M^r de Bourdeaux and them; wherupon Newport went immediately to the French Ambassador to persuaade him to stick att nothing which hee could consent vnto that might putt an ende to that Treatie. The Paper which was presented contained two points: the one was concerning the deniall of assistance to the enimies or rebeles of either, to which Mon^r de Bourdeaux added some wordes att Newports persuation, with which hee thought Cr[omwell] wold haue bene contented; the other was touchinge Canada, which Cromwell wold not haue to bee inserted in the Treatie, but remitted to the examination of Comm^{rs} on both sides. The Ambass^r on the contrary insisted to haue it comprised in the Treatie, and that, seing they were agreed of all things, nothing

might bee omitted. This new debate and the stifnes on both sides, 1655.
 on the French Ambassadors not to yeeld to this nouelty, and on the
 Comm^{rs} not to signe the Treatie without the Amb^r did consent vnto
 these two points, nay, declaring to M^r de Bourdeaux that without
 it the Treatie was broken, there was no hope left at an agreement
 betweene them but in the greate and vncessant endeauors of Newport,
 who, in order to some further Treatie betweene France, England,
 and Holland, leaues no stone vnmooued that may aduance that
 designe, wherof the conclusion of the present Treatie must bee
 the foundation, which hee doubteth not att last to compass, how
 greate promises soeuer the Marq. de Leda shall make for to hinder
 it.

Your Honours most humble seruant,

V.

Br[ussels], this last of May, 1655.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

June 1, 1655

Yours of the $\frac{1}{2}^8$ I have received, with noe small contentment, as f. 224.
 I doe all y^t comes from such a pen soe steered, and noe lesse
 instruction. For which, without more preamble or complement,
 I thank you with all my heart and will love and serve you and
 yours to my best and last, longing much for the hour to see and
 say as much to your noble lady, for whose safe arrivall on this
 side y^e seas I shall impatiently attend; for, talke you gallants at
 Court what yee will, I never knew soe much trew felicity and
 lasting freindship as betweene a honest man and good wife.

I am now, my deare Secretary, to say much to you, and, as I
 think, of noe small *concernment*, if I be not much mistaken. *Hanebal*
Sested, Vice-Roy of *Norwey*, now comine from *England*, wilbe with
his Majesty some time next weeke and with a resolution to returne

1655. into *England* agayne, if y^e *King* shall think fitt to give him any trust thither vppon the discourse he shall have *with him*, wherein his *Majesty* must cut a *hayre*, for as one the one side he must stand vppon *his guard*, soe on the other his *Majesty* must not be soe *reserved* as not to give him whereon to work, if y^e *King* see cause for it, or to knock off betimes. By what I can guesse vppon severall close discourses with *him* I have reason to beleeeve y^t he hath a purpose to *sound his Majesty* whither he would accept any *conditions* from *Cromwell* or offer him any. And is not this a *tickle point*? Yet, methinks, greate vse may be made of it; for *Norwich* is most confident y^t *Cromwell* is at a *dead losse*, having confessed that, if the late *business in England* had bin well *carried*, finding the generall distemper over *the whole Kingdome*, he had not knowen which way or where to have begunne the *prevention* of it. But when it brake out soe weakly at *Salisbury*, then he was past all *danger* for that bouthe. *Cromwell* alsoe says y^t he is not ignorant of the incapacity of *his sons* for *ruling* after *him* and the tickle termes he stands on, but *his good God* hath hitherto led *him* on along by *the hand*, and he will still follow the same, being ordayned, as he sayth, for a s[c]ourge to *that people*. And this I thought fitt to lay before you, to vse as you please for your farther consideration, this being a time y^t will administer strange varieties for the same; for, if *France* and *Spaine* agree betweene themselves, which is not impossible, having now theyre eyes sufficiently opened by the late *tricking* of *Cromwell*, whoc will make noe *Peace* with the first but vppon such horrid conditions as is not to be consented vnto, nor with y^e other but to have free trafficque in the *Indyes*, what then think you wilbe the issue whenas your beloved, kinde, gratfull freinds the *Hollanders* must alsoe ioyne with them? I shall say much more to you ere many dayes passe concerning this pushe (give me leave soe to call it). For whoe is there y^t now pusheth not for his interest?

Since I began this I spake with *Coll. Phillips*, a right home well tryed person and full of worth (were he not too much my

Secretaries freind), whoe tells me he will be speedily with you, 1655.
 which when I knew I perswaded him to retard his irony for two or
 three days till the party above named be readdy to accompany him
 from Bruxells the next weeke; betweene whome I shall settle such
 an intelligence as he shall tell you more vppon the *hintes Norwich*
 gives him then all I can at this entrance of the mistery give you,
 for a mistery there is, as sure as *he* hath a mistresse. In a word,
 there will shortly be a confusion, which, as that learned author
 Charles Morguan was wont to say, *Vive, et vive la confusion*, will
 turne vpp another manner of Trump then perhaps we are yet aware
 of. I beseeche you present my humblest service to my noble lord
 Ormond, assuring him I shall never more name the word nor thing
 Gub^a more, conditionally he thank the person above named for his
 kindnes to that gallant sonne of his y^e Lord Ossery (of whome I
 never heard better caracter) and afterwards entertayne him with all
 freedome, as well by an especiall direction from y^e King from *his*
Majestys selfe as by his Lo^{ps} owne inclination, and you shall soone
 see what becommes of it. But this must be managed with noe
 lesse secesy then dexterity. I never knew any stranger nor scarce
 any of our owne countrey y^t had soe particular an interest and free
 admittance into all company of all sortes and sexes as the above-
 named stranger, especialy with *Cromwell* and in all confidence
 with *Whitlock*,^b whoe was there in play and, as Cromwell tould
 him, would after better thoughts comme in agayne. To conclude
 this point for the present, I discover much y^t I cannot describe,

^a See above, p. 304.

^b See Whitelock's own account of him (*Memoriale*, p. 627) under July, 1655:—

"Graef Hannibal Sesthead came into England to see the Protector and made his applications to me, whom he had been acquainted with in Germany. I brought him to the Protector, and he used him with all courtesy; he dined with him several times, and the Protector was much taken with his company; he being a very ingenious man, spake many languages, and English perfectly well, and had been employed in several great charges and ambassies, but he was a very debauched person; which when the Protector knew, he would not admit him any more into his conversation: and not long after he departed out of England."

1655. which a litle more time with your assistance there and my watch heere and labour elsewhere, shall hammer out to somewhat. I sent for a passe into France, where there were 12 offerd the Count Bryons^a to be signed, of which none was refused but myne, and y^t with a shrugg of y^e shoulder only. Vppon which Mons^r Roberts did write to a freind heere, y^t, if I would have the Queene my mistris moved therein, he doubted not the obteyning of it; a thing I shall hardly doe, though I will not refuse to serve her in a far greater. I beleeve y^t your *Sr E. Hyde* is by this time with you, whoe is certainly a most vnfortunat man, though I can never beleeve him a dishonest, for you will never finde y^t any party, be it Presbiter, Independant, or Cavalier, wilbe contented to comme vnder *his* government; and remember *I* tell you soe, whoe trewly am soe far from wishing him the least ill, as y^t I would serve him and his with all my heart. But, alas, Sir, what is this to our mayne work? I have seene it written from Callais y^t our Duke of Buckingham hath passd by by creekes to and froe betweene England and France several times, which I hardly beleeve hath bin above once, and that noe farther then Callais. The *Prince of Condé* begins to speake another language concerning *our King*, with whose prime minister I had such a discourse the other day as may offer occasion for more and better, as the cardes now a shuffling may chance to be dealt. I know not what to iudge of it; but, me thinks, I begin to have fresher thoughts, though oulder clothes then ever, and it cannot be but a strange turne must shortly come. My Queene of Swede is going out of Bruxells to Limalé to take y^e Spa waters against shee goes for France, where tis credibly reported shee was invited by y^t King, wherevnto shee replied y^t shee would call in at Paris for his Ma^{ties} consent to mary the new pope. Thus goes y^e tale, beleeve of it what you please. I cannot have any answer of what I have formerly wrote to [you] concerning *Ognati*, brother to the

^a Henri Auguste de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Secretary of *the archduke*, till such time as the Marquis de Leda be first returned out of England, for yet they will not seeme to beleeeve y^t Pens Fleete is for theyre Indydes. Whoe soe blynde as he y^t will not see? I heare y^t *Cromwell* is of the oppinion y^t that fleete wilbe first or last most fatall to him; for, if it take effect, then doubtles *Spaine* will infalibly seeke all meanes possibly for revenge, if not, the returne of it fruitlesse will cost him more then is beleeeved he hath in banck to quit all those scores which none can better iudge of then your selfe. 1655.

. . . . But I prate to you overlong, by which you may see I would pay you better if I had it, which is not impossible, had I wherewithall to tyde it out, which I have not by reason of poore Reades captivity, since when I am soe far from receiuing ought as I know not what is becommen, nor know not where to learne, of y^t which he was to receive for me. I have only the one sute y^t now is on my back and some credit for my belly, which I will stretch out to y^e last ragge and bit with this comfort y^t it is for my King and masters service, whose person and cause I will never desert whilst I can wagg nose, toes, or fingers end; and soe I beseeche you assure his Ma^{ty} with my humblest duty from my Secretaries as well as his faythfullest and most affectionat humble servant,

S. S.

S.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 3 June, 1655, new stile.

. . . . The English letters of this week haue brought us nothing of great consequence but the exsequution of some of the persones whom wee formerly heard to haue been condemned, wherein Crumwell hath not proceeded so mildely as it was supposed he would. Penradlock they say is repriued, but how true it is I doe not know. Here ar liely some Gentlemen of the King's party f 233.

1655. comed ouer whom I doe not know, one Mr. Malevry^a and two or three others, who it is not unlike you may ere long see at Collen. By this time I belecue you haue there L. Gen. Middleton, who, I thinke, hath done very wisely in auoyding to come within this state. This week's letters from France giue some niew expectation of the closing of their treaty, but I doe not belecue it will be yet concluded in haste. Newport sayeth nothing of it, but writes that the Marquis de Leda doeth not to him owne any other businesse in England but to make a complement to Cromwell; yet they say he wes two howres with him in priuat conference, which, methinks, is somewhat long for a meer complement. The designe of Pen's fleet is variously reported of; some say he hath made a descent in Cuba, others that he hath only victualed or taken in fresh water in those partes and is gone southward to attacke the Portugese in Brasile.

Your most affectionat and most humble
seruant,

A. HUMÉ.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, June 4, 1655.

f. 234.

Vppon Tuesday last I gave you an account of my receiaing yours of the 18 and 28 by a too too tedious lines, I feare, of my poor sence how the present affayres were, soe far as my short lyne could reach them. I had not then heard or read y^t from England which since I have, though nothing to my selfe, soe basely am I dealt withall; out of which, if I be not much deceiued, I see a fayre game dealing to our pretious master, if he sitt, in that relates to the operation there, quiet till of itselfe it trace him out a path

^a He means Sir Richard Mauleverer (below, p. 327).

smoother and safer then the last to walke in, looking principally to what he may probably expect abroad, where for my part I will not slumber, nor I hope be altogether vnusefull to him according to my smale talent, being now burnt downe to the very socquet, and shall there give an ill sauour, if I remedy it not by retireing betimes. The very prints, besides severall letters more particular in y^t point, say sufficient for assuring the desaigne of Pen's Fleetes dessent eyther in Hispaniola, Cuba or the Bay of Mexico, and y^t the churches haue order to pray for y^e successe thereof soe far as to America. I know y^t our ablest Marchands giue expresse order to all theyre Factors, as well in Spayne as heere, to secure theyre goods all they possibly can within the King of Spaynes dominions. The Marquis de Leda, I heare, is comming home with this Bee in his eare, he now finding whoe tould him most truth, his great Alonzo de Cardenas in England or poore I at Ghent in his passadge thither. Yet be pleased to remember what I now tell you, y^t *Spayne* will not oppenly breake with *Cromwell*, though all this be confirmed, of which you will now within very few days more heare enough. And as for *France*, it and *England* will treate it on and suffer the marchands of both sides to win or loose as theyre fortune proues without any declaration of other war then soe; and the *Hollander* the like, whose *Ambassador* creepes vpp and downe *London* as one neglected of all sides. Howsoever, Sir, be confident you shall ere long finde *vnderhand healpe* from all the three, if wee take y^e right way to it and vse our best meanes to perswade a peace, our king being iudged by all men next the *Pope* as the fittest *empire betweene* the two *Crownes* or to be closed withall by one of them, if the other misse. But y^t which workes most *with me* is the certenty of *Haselriges* comming vpp to *London* to plead with sundry other persons of wealth agaynst the *taxes* as now *levied*, which is iust as *Hampden* did about the *Shipmoney*, all punishments for the most part being the trew Anagrames of our sinnes, and from hence you'll see wonders. I can assure you that there are shrewd *rods in pisse* for *Cromwell*, let him change hands or sides as he will, and

1655. this will soonest appeare in case *he* put to be *King*, vppon which text I know whoe hath had the last weeke a whisking comment with a iudgment vppon it. In the interim *I* shall be most inquisitive after what I am promised from *Ognati* at *Bruges*, whoe must ere long of necessity say somewhat to me. And as for Mons^r Haniball Sestat, the Vice Roy of Norway, he will the next weeke towards the end thereof be with you, being now at Bruxells with y^e Queene of Sweden, and to return hither agayne by Monday, having our late widdow and our good Collonel Phillips and his wife with him in his company to see her Ma^{ty}, whoe is to take y^e Spa waters at Limal some few leagues thense. Laugh at *me*, if you please, but *I* cannot forbear to tell you *my* dreame, which my booke of Dreames (for I haue such a one) expounds, that *Cromwell* (knowing he hath noe roote by which *he* should fix where *he* is, resolves to make himself *Emperor of the West Indies* and leave what he cannot keepe to the *King*. Thus much I know vppon my knowledge, y^t my brother Staply^a now dead (whose *sonne* is a very honest *man*) twise was taking *ship* for y^t like voyage into *New England* and divers others with him, and I have heard a bird sing lately such a kinde of note, which you have liberty to credit as you please, but not to forget y^t once vppon a time I tould you such a Tale. Men of the chase must hunt as well where the game is not, as where it is, espezialy such mad wild hounds as *Ea. Norwich*. Be it what it may, as I tould you in my last, I doe discouer what I cannot describe, and smell a Rat which may proue *Ridiculus Mus*; and yet for all that I cannot forbear filling vpp my paper with it, for such as we are must vent or we burst. We heare not as yet of any thing attempted by the French, and as for these heere, the prince of Condé (as I heare) will entirely stand vppon the defensive by fortifying all the garisons the best they can, and he to attend

^a Anthony Stapley, of Framfield and Patcham, co. Suss., M.P. for Sussex in the Long Parliament and one of the Regicides; marr. Anne Goring, sister of Norwich (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, ii. 1849. p. 103). His son, John Stapley, was cr. Bart. in 1660, but Norwich perhaps means here an elder brother George, who d. 1657.

the Frenche's motions close with his Horsse. I wrote to my good sonne Gerrard last Tusday, whoe, as it is written to me since from y^e Hagh, is gonne to Prince Rupert, and my Lord Wentworth still at y^e Busse. After once writing more, I feare I shall not suddenly write to you agayne for the reason aforesayd of socket, but, wheresoever I am, you shall not finde I am changed in my duty, love and profession to my God, my King, nor Freind, of which I esteeme none more then my deare deare Secretary, whose seruant I am to y^e death. 1655.

S. S.

S.

Not any newes of the Spanishe Fleete, which causeth shrewd want heere and more in Spayne, as my sonne writes to me from thence, whoe, if he had not bin surprised with a fierce fitt of y^e gout, had bin heere before now, having 500 crownes a moneth with order to attend the Archduke. I am right glad y^t my Secretary is soe well recoverd, the continuance of whose health and prosperity I pray for as my owne and blesse my supports accordingly. But shall your daughter Lane^a haue my sonne the Lord Newbrough? My birds sing soe to me. Is it soe? When meete our master and my vnkinde Baronesse, whose face I shall not have the face to see till I be in a better posture and out of the danger to be thought a beggar of her. As for y^e Kings Declaration for y^e securing of all persons, it is a thing soe much expected (trust me it is) as, if it be longer delayde, twere as good let alone for ever, and then mark y^e event; and vppon this I must ever insist, for I have good grounds for it. Is good Mr. Lovell gonne? And is O Neall governor?

* Susanna Nicholas, wife of George Lane, who was still alive, and was knighted at Bruges 27 Mar., 1657, and cr. Viscount Lanesborough in 1676. The marriage, however, though proved by numerous letters in this collection, is not recorded in the Peerages. Norwich may perhaps have confounded her with Anne Hyde (above, p 315).

1655.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, June 4, 1655.

f. 236.

This inclosed cam to my hands iust now after I had sent my former of this days date to y^e post howse. Honest Mr. Clotterbooke your faythfull servant sent it me, which I thought most requisit to send you ; by which you may see things begin to work already, and will every day more and more, as I am likewise assured from some heere very neare the fountayne head at Bruxells, for now there eyes begin to oppen. This gentleman is a right worthy honest person, and of greate trust with the ruling powers, and singularly affected to vs, being of the good Lord chiefe Justice Heaths family. If we can keepe the work in his hands, twill doe better then in any other of y^t side. I was this morning (had it not rained soe fast and my bootes bin soe thinne) posting back to Breda, meerely to clothe my selfe and feede vppon trust, being quite spent ; for which cause of stay I am now much pleased since the receipt of this letter, which expounds another I did not before soe well vnderstand of coniuring my stay a litle longer in these parts, for somewhat I should know ere long. If it be possible for his Ma^{ty} to send me a litle monny by a bill of Exchange from Collogne or to the princesse his sister, I shall closely follow this sent and away to Bruges, for tis impossible to doe it by writing ; if not, I must stick in y^e mudd. The post is going and I must rest heere

all yours,

S. S.
S.

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

1655.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Hage, Jun 4th, Friday, 1655.

I intimated in my last to your sonne y^t S^r Richard Malevire (iff f. 239.) I did not then mistake his Christen name) was arrived. I haue since met with him and Col. Morgan (his Mat^{ies} servant) and one Mr. Blaney, a kinsman of S^r Arthur Blanys.^a These were y^e three which I formerly sent you word of, who came to an honest skipper for passage, though I did then suspect *Ea. Rochester* had bin in company with them. They cannot giue any perfect account of him, where hee is. Mr. *Armorer* and hee, it is supposed, are together. *Ea. Rochesters* escape at *Aylesbury* cost him deare, being compell'd to part with *his gold chaine*; better that then *his head*. I finde by discourse with *Col. Morgan* y^t there were very greate divisions in the *Councill*s of those who were imployd in *England* for his Ma^{tie}. Those of y^e *West* and *Kent* agreed well enough, but y^e *North* and they differed; and hee names one *Coll. Halcie*,^b who was very much intrusted from abroad, who gaue very greate dissatisfaction. They all speake very honourably of *Ea. Rochester* and say hee did all that was possible. Mr. *Walter Strickland*^c is very much complaynd on as one who was y^e occasion of dissolving y^e *Rendezvous* in y^e *North*, particularly y^t hee mett Duke *Darcy*^d coming vp with *fifty horse* and stopd them. Amongst other of our freindes in

^a Sir Arthur Blaney, of Shien Castle, co. Monaghan, a younger brother of Henry, 2^d Lord Blaney.

^b There were two active Royalists of the name of Halsall or Halsey, of Halsall, co. Lanc.. James and Edward. It is doubtful which of the two is here meant, the former being generally called "Mr." and the other "Major" (*Cul. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 445; *Archaeologia*, xxxv. p. 344).

^c So Manning in a letter to Thurloe (*Cul. St. Pap.* 1655, p. 216), getting his information from Mauleverer; but the name is there noted in the margin as a mistake in the cipher.

^d Col. Marmaduke Darcy, fifth son of Conyers, Lord Darcy; Gent. of the Privy Chamber to the King (*Archaeologia*, xxxv. p. 328).

1655. *England* I enquired for *Sr Ri. Page*, of whom *Coll. Morgan* giues a very honourable character, affirming y^t no man in *London* did so highly zeale y^e *business* as hee, and y^t, when those who were interested in y^e *business* were several times likely to breake off, hee composed all and brought things on foote agayne. But hee says *Coll. Owen* would not meddle with y^e *business of Wales*, because hee found, as hee pretends, such persons engaged as had neither interest nor approved fidelity. I haue given you these short hints, y^t when hee comes to you (which will bee speedily, though hee desires it may not bee publike, for they all giue out they are goeing for *France*) you may more fully informe your selfe.

I heere y^t *L[ient.] G[en.] M[iddleton]* is on his way to you; I am sorry I had not y^e happyness to see him ere hee went. I know how I shall bee represented to him by sombody, but I thinke my affections to him will arme him agaynst any impressions, and I doubt not but you will contribute your assistance as touching y^t part of y^e busyness betwixt *Sr El. H.* and mee which relates to *L. G. M.* I thinke my letter to him when I was last in *Scotland* (which I never thought to mention before) will sufficiently vindicate mee; you haue y^e copy of it by you. I had almost forgot to tell you y^t *Ea. Rochester* is disguised like a *grasier* with a braue *basket hilt sword* tyd vp to his back. I desired my author to bee very silent in this particular, for it might bee much to *Ea. Rochesters* prejudice if som heere should know it and hee yet in *England*. The inclosed to you I received from *Coll. Morgan*, who hath likewise a little Box for you from *Mr. Nevel*,^a which hee will bring himselfe to you. It is now generally talkd heere y^t the Treaty with y^e French is concluded. One of y^e Pamphlets speakes as though y^e Portugal and y^e Rebells would breake, and I heard the greate Jew of Amsterdam yesterday at Browns shop proffer mony vpon the affirmatiue side. I doe not meete with any thinge

^a Probably Thomas Neville, cousin of Nicholas (vol. i. p. 78).

material heere. Though y^e whole world bee on fire, these people seeme not to feare, beeinge secure in theire water 1655.

Your most devoted servant,
757.

Bee pleased to turne over.^a

CAPT. PETER MEWS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Hage, Jun. 4th, 1655.

Since y^e signinge of my letter I rec^d yours of Jun. 1st and must f. 295.
acknowledge my selfe infinitely obliged to you for your kindness, which nothing shall ever blot out of my memory. I did not beleieve y^t Sir E. H. (as I before intimated) ever spake those words; but I am sure they were sayd for him by som of his confidents, and in your eare I must whisper y^t I was told there is one who is much in his bosom, who in his mirth doth oft times forget himselfe. The Dr Taylour named to mee is y^e same you mention; I shall informe my selfe more fully concerning y^e report so soone as I meeete with Mr. Yard, who was y^e person told it my freinde. I should bee sorry it should bee true, but you know hee hath bin strangely guilty of som levitys, and I feare hee wants y^t courage as is requisite in tymes of extreimity. And such these are, and very deeply apprehended by most in *England*, who now supposing the *Kings busines* desperate are prone to run a course, which, while things stood in an equall ballance or not wholly weighd downe, they seemd not inclined to. I haue a greate deale of charity for all men who haue ever bin honest, but really, Sir, as things are represented to mee by y^e best intelligence I can get, this *last busines* hath bin more fatall, and is like to produce greater alterations, then any that hath yet happened. For my owne parte I doe not despayre, and so long as I may haue bread and water with my conscience I shall not thinke my condition ill, though by the vnworthyness of som who

^a The following letter is on the other side of the same sheet.

1655. will giue mee no account of that Fortune my vnclē left mee since I went to *Scotland* I am like to bee reduced to greate necessitis. I cannot by any importunity procure so much as a letter from my brother since my returne, and am told by a merchant from whom I used to receiue monys, who saw him about 5 weekes since, y^t hee says hee knows I am now seasoned to hardness and may returne to my freindes in y^e *highlands*. So little are relations of blood of force in this degenerate age! But I repent nothing I haue done, and am as ready to vndertake any thinge for *the King* as ever. I did discourse to y^r sonne when hee was heere about setling a *correspondence*. The person I pitchd on was *Mr. Painter*,^a the chirurgeon, who liueing constantly in *London* and beeing very conversant with the greatest persons there may haue good opportunitys of doeing it. Hee wants not abilitys, hee is very *secret* and extraordinary diligent; but it cannot bee brought about vntill this *business* bee a little over. . . .

Y^r humble and faythfull servant,

757.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 7 June, 1655, new stile.

f. 242. . . . That massacre of the Albigeois^b is indeed a most barbarous thing, wherof wee haue diuerse relations, from whence wee can hardly know upon whom to fixe it. Some say the French troups hadd a hand in it with those of Savoy; but the French ambasadour here affirmeth the French to be free of it, at lest it is probable that it was without any authority from the French court, seing as wee hear many thousands of those that ar escaped ar refuged

^a Humphrey Painter, for whose zeal in the Royalist cause see Manning to Thurloe (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 193) and *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. pp. 208, etc.

^b On 17-21 April, chiefly in the valley of Luserna, following upon an edict of the Duke of Savoy of 25 January for the deportation into special districts of all who did not become Catholics within twenty days.

into France. I hear the States haue written to Niewport to know how Cromwell resents it; and it is beleueed they will concurre with him in any thing he shall undertake for reuenge of it. In the mean time they ar about to send out writtes to enioyne a publick collection in all their churches for supply of the poor people that ar driuen our of their cuntrie, as it is like all protestant churches will doe throughout Christendome. The imprisonment of Sergeant Maynard and the others^a may proue a thinge of great consequence, if the City of London doe seriously resent it and would learne to know their owne strength. From thence or some other occasion I doute not but God in his owne time will giue rise to something of good to us. The Treaty with France is spoken of as a thing concluded and ingrossed ready for the signing. But I confesse I am still doutefull in it, and am apt to beleue that Cromwell will not so hastely close with France and neglect Spayne, but rather study to be in friendship with both. . . .

Your most affectionat and most humble servant,

A. HUME.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, June 8, 1655.

. . . . This is breefly to tell you y^t I am now posting to Bruges to meete with him whose letter I sent you in my last, now being neare the time y^t the Marquis de Leda wilbe on his returne out of England and my freind prepared to say somewhat to me vppon the

^a This refers to the case of Geo. Cony, who was committed for refusing to pay customs imposed merely by ordinance of the Protector, and for whom it was argued by Serjeants John Maynard and Thomas Twisden and Wadham Windham that the impost was illegal. The three were therefore sent to the Tower on 18th May "for using words tending to sedition," etc., and remained there till after the 25th, when they submissively petitioned for release (*Cal. St. Pap.*, pp. 168, 179).

1655. subject I formerly acquainted you withall, which I will drue as far as it will goe. *Hannebal Sested* is not yet returned from Brussels, where he had some *business* with y^e *Qu. of Sweede*, noe more is our freind Coll. Phillips, but dayly expected, whoe intend immediatly after to be at Collogne. *His Mat^{tie}, Mar. Ormond, and Sec. Nicholas* hauing had my former cautions shall neede noe more, only y^t my Lord may please to giue him rapping glasses and a good shake by *the hand*, which shall featch out all the *venome*, if there be any in the vermin vnder the herbe of *pretence*. I am much deceiued if *he* have not somewhat to propose, but whither as his owne aduice or from *Cromwell* directly *he* dares not possitiuely say. The post is not yet comme, but, if he doe before I mount polack, you shall haue what I know in a postscript. When Collonel Phillips commes I shall send you a seacarde, by which you shall see how improbable it is for Pens fleete to be gonne for Brasil, besides what the last London prints informe tuching theyre intention for Hispaniola, Cuba, etc., in confirmation of soe many other orthodoxe letters y^t I have read from prime persons in y^t fleete from y^e Barbadoes, March $\frac{24}{14}$, then ready to set sayle and not doubting within 10 dayes to be where they designed. And yet for all this these heere will not seeme to beleeeve it; thoughth I may tell you in your eare that they are thinking how handsomly vnderhand to assist our King, of which more I hope ere long. They only stay for Mar. *Lidas* returne and the treaty betweene England and France, which *Ea. Norwich* is still confident can comme to noe more then to delay time till this campagne be ouer. For England demands such great somes of France as cannot be paid, besides much more of as high a nature. Tis beleeeved y^t the greate massacre in Lucerna by the Duke of Savoyes forces will have a sad consequence and y^t Cromwell will make himself head of the Protestant party. What thinks Sec. Nicholas of y^t? If soe, it will strangely imbroyle our Kinges worke in this coniuncture. *Mais Dieu sur tout*; and there I fix and pray. I wrote in my last to see if there were any possibility for any present supply, wherein

I coniure you to pray *Mar. Ormond* to let me by your next know 1655.
 what I may trust to, y^t accordingly I may retire till I can get
 somewhat out of England, being now at my last cast, having only
 credit for my belly, not at all for my back or pocket. . . .

S. S.

S.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT H^{ble},

Hage, 8 Junij, 1655.

. . . . Whether the proclamacion against Papistes^a proceeded f. 244.
 from a councell to quicken them to contribution or els to gaine
 the two partes of their estates, whereof, it may be, many have
 escaped hitherto, or some compliyanee with Presbiterians, I can-
 not determyne; but I most incline to thinke it matter of profit,
 for at present the Presbiterians are not soe tender to endure the
 breath of noe Papist. They feare more of the Independent, if he
 get a mastery, I finde the Papistes have noe kindnes for the
 Kinges cause, and, beinge perswaded his interest is lost, seeke to
 make their benefit of the change; and though they of that religion
 abroad be more favorable, fewe of oures have any good wishes or
 perswasion, and noe doubt some of them are vsed by Cromwell. It
 seemes to me that both the Kings of France and Spain take it for a
 principle that the Kings interest is none of theirs and each court
 Cromwell for a *ne noceat* and perswade themselves they shall the
 better be able to offend and defend by gayneing tyme, and that
 they shall not be misled into greater necessity. It is not
 likelye the Cardinall will give over havinge soe much the better
 of the game with Spain, for that were to give his enemy breath,

^a "Proclamation by the Protector for executing the laws against priests and
 Jesuits and for speedy conviction of Popish recusants," etc., 24 April, in *Cal. St.
 Pap.*, 1655, p. 139.

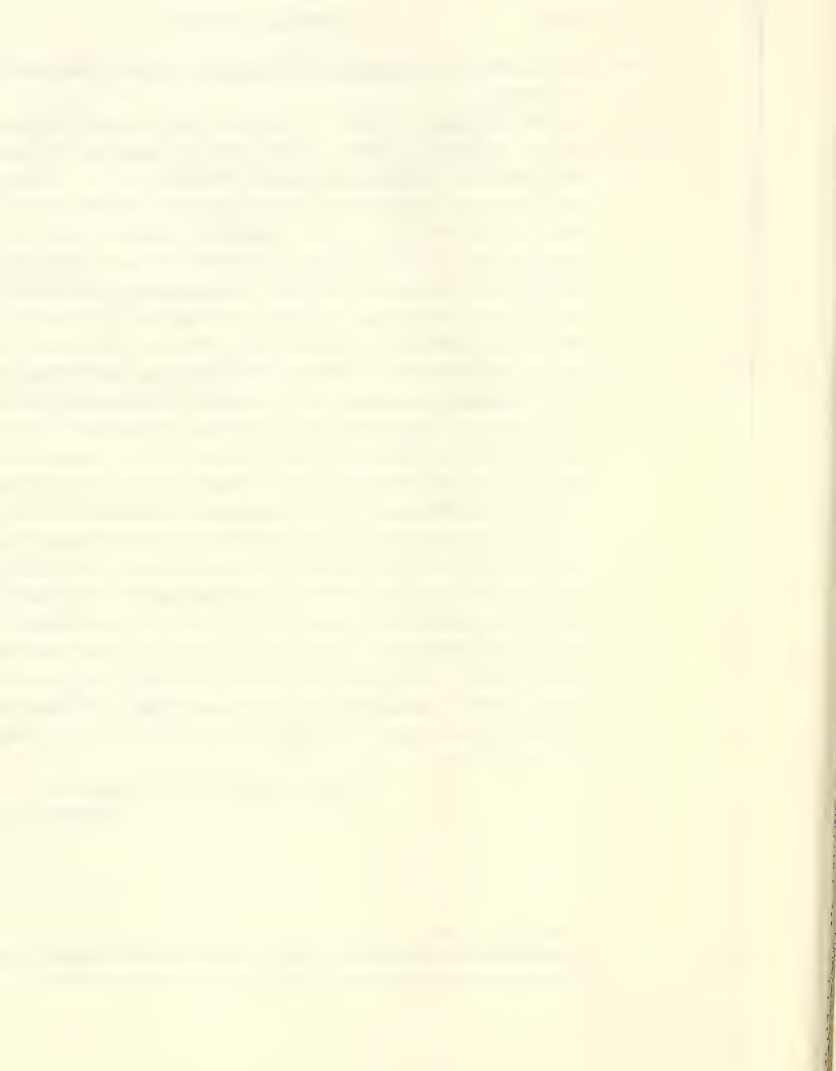
1655. and he would loose many of his frinds by peace. But this is only coniecture. . . .

The Hollanders thinke the shippes wilbe restored,^a but that will not be suddenly, I thinke. They have in imitation of Cromwell lately made a proclamacion against Papistes. . . . Nieuport in his lettres to the States here related his visit of the M. of Leda, whose great civility he much magnified beyound what he found from any Amb.; that the Marq. told him he was to leave England speedily, that his busines was but a complement, and that Al[onzo] de Cardenas should goe on with the busines. He wrote that all was agreed betweene Cromwell and France. He wrote of the sending of Maynard, Windham and Twisden to the Towre; he said it was a strange playdaye, and it lookes to me somewhat cherefully. The case, as I conceive by the bookes, being that a marchant, beinge fined for defrauding the custome by an omission upon an order of Cr. and Councell, which theise lawyers maynteyned not of force and the lawes in the Kinges tyme determyned, was freed at their Upper Bench.^b I cannot beleve that Maynard for a fee would hazard losse of money or liberty, and his conscience never yet putt him to that stresse, his compliyanse being sufficiently scandalous against his iudgement. And his providence would have kept him from the danger, whereof he was likewise forwarned, had he not discerned some declension in Cromwell or some growth of animosity and power against him. Perhaps he may be deceived, as others have beene; but you see there is a relapse of the men of lawe. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,
JOSEPH JANE.

^a See above, p. 303.

^b This was not so, the decision of the case being deferred till the next term, when no more was heard of it (Golwin, *Hist. of Commonwealth*, iv. p. 179).



PERCY CHURCH.

1655.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},

Paris, this 11th of June, 1655.

. . . . The Lady Kynalmekie^a returnes her kind thanks for y^r f. 247.
honours good wishes, and desires that his Matie may know y^e Duke
Hamiltons [picture]^b is safe and shalbee so preserved, if his Matie
pleases to allow her La^p the honour of keeping it, but if not, shee
will deliuer it mee to bee disposed as your honour write by a
former letter; and truly I think it wilbee much more redier for his
Maties command then in the hands of Lo. Percy. Your honour
mentioned only two conditions as to the cessation of armes betweene
France and Spaine, but there is a 3^d, and that was to haue his
Holiness to render the Cardinall de Res to his king. . . . The
Duke of Buckingham, as spoken in my presence by a person of
qualetie, sayes publikely that y^e Lord Farfax promised to ingage
for his Maties interest, prouided that the transactions between his
Matie and him might pass through the Dukes hands, which request
beeing refused his lordship quitted and so his Maties designe was
frustrated.^c The certaintie of this, if your honour think fitt, I
should bee glad to know. Vpon Tuesday night last his grace
goeing late from Mons^r Schombergs lodging in a chaire was saluted
by some *Filoues*, who taking his hatt band and feathers with 30
pistolls in gold gaue his lo^p the *bon soire*. . . .

Unsigned, but endorsed: "Mr Church."

^a See vol. i. p. 174, note.

^b From Nicholas's endorsement, the word being omitted in the letter.

^c Opposite this passage Nicholas has written in shorthand: "I assure you I know not, nor by inquiry can find, that there was ever an offer or promise from the lo. Fairfax that he would engage for his Maties interest see as the transaccions between his Matie and him might passe through the D. of B's hands; but its possible some 3rd person might [have] proposed that the D. might be a fit man to treat between the K. and that lord, whereby to procure him to engage for the King. And this, I assure you, is the most that I know or can learne concerning that particular; and its said by some that know lo. Fairfax very well that he had never any intencion att all to engage for the Kings interest."

1655.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, June 11, 1655.

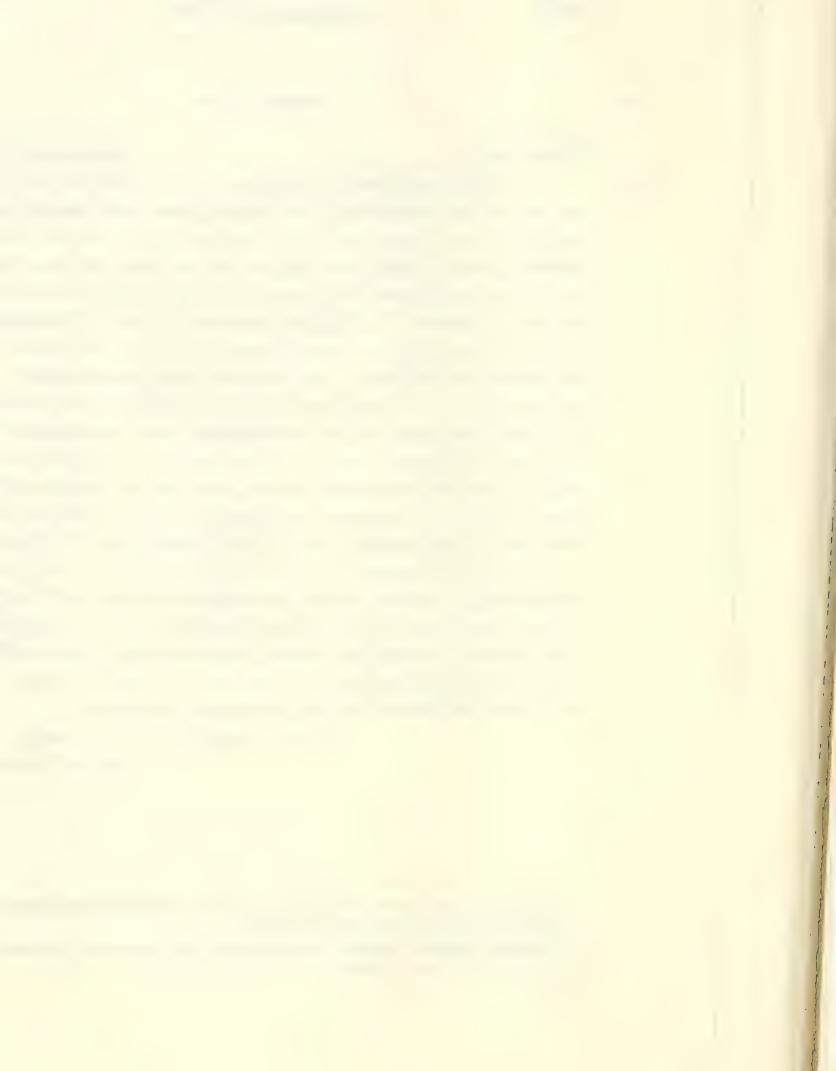
f. 250. . . . Wee apprehend not the new plott for which L. Byron^a and others are committed, nor cann guesse why names of men committed are concealed, which cannot be a secret where the busines is acted ; but it may be its for our sakes on this side the sea, whose intelligence they know is soe little as it exceeds not the bookes. I was told T. Killigrew reported that the 2 Ashburnhams^b and the 3 Scotch lordes were taken out of their bedds in the Tower and carryed on shipboard, and whence further is vnknown. *Penes authorem fides.* I coniecture that Cromwell is not secure after this great advantage for his establishment, and this busines of the Marchant and committment of the lawyers may give him some trouble. But his dependance is very much on the successe of Penns fleete, which, if it prosper, may set him vpp an empire, having destroyed a considerable part of the Turkes fleete by Blake and going on with his victory. But it wilbe a difficult worke, I thinke, to reconcile all within, having now done what ever was imaginable to have beene acted by the kinge, if he had received noe opposition —impositions without parliament, committments by councill table, prohibitions to lawyers to pleade and committments of them. The army must be firme or els the pacience is miraculous

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

^a Lord Byron was arrested on 21 May (1 June), with others whose names are not given (*Faithful Scout*, 18-25 May, p. 1821).

^b John and William. One of the Scotch lords was Lauderdale, who was sent to Portland (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 275).



EARL OF NORWICH.

1655.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, June 12, 1655.

Yours of the 8 I iust now receiued at my returne hither from f. 253.
 Bruxells, where I only stayde one day, going and comming in the night, and my iorny only to feele some such pulses as I knew could best informe me of the Spanishe beleefe concerning Pens fleete and the consequenses thereof, the Archduke and Count Fuensaldagne hauing left y^t towne some few dayes before. Are you yet vppon Brazill haunte? Is it possible after such infalible assurance for Pens desigine to the Indyees of the King of Spayne? Which now these ministers beleeeve alsee, though they will not seeme to be soe, saying y^t the king hath gathered such forces together as wilbe able to encounter the Fleete, though there were a descent there (which is as impossible as for me to comme to Collogne this day in a whole or new payre of breeches), nay, tis soe far from y^t as that there hath bin noe aduice giuen to the gouernors in those Indyees of any such desigine against them, as a letter from Spayne to the prime assentiste heere confirms. Had I time, I could tell you a long story how *Cromwell* hath lulled the *amb^r* of *Spayne* in *England* asleepe in this *busines*, whilst *Blake* watcht his opportunity in the *Medetraian* to preuent any setting furth *ships* by the *K. of Spayne* in case he did suspect this his attempt vppon *the Indies*. In a word, if this succede, which is soe probable it will, *Spayne*, I feare, wilbe but in an *ill case to helpe vs*, which must be as they now perceiue, though late, to be theyre only remedy. I shall not fayle to keepe close to what *Oymate* and *Ea. Norwich* have soe seriously taken to heart, of which *I* am most confident *I* shall giue *you* a good account ere long, which when *I* shall have put in the way, let *any* treatie y^t will, for tis not y^t which *I* looke after, for then he wilbe for a freshe chase elsewhere, being only fit for one of my *Secretaries* his ranging spaniells^a to finde where the game lyes.

^a From this passage and another in vol. i., p. 81, it may be inferred that Nicholas had a fancy for spaniels.

1655. Mons^r Haniball Sested will very speedily be with you, whoe assuredly hath *somewhat* to *propound*, which perhaps *I may discover* and send *you* soe soone as he returnes from Bruxells, which he intends to doe this day, only staying to see y^e Countesse of Newport, whoe was to be there last night. Tis wonderfull the vast dessignes of *Cromwell* ouer and vpon all the states and princes of Christendome. At this instant *he is* like one at y^e laste gaspe, full of convulsions, laying hould on what commes next him. Remember what I now say; *you will* heare mad work shortly, for *the Jesuit* is at worke, being now out of all hope of good from *him*, which latly *they* were *not*. One whisperd an *odd thing* in *my* eare the other day. I must confess *you* put me a shrewd query concerning the time of his *Mat^{ties}* setting foorth a *declaracion* and *his being* for a while *quiet*; to which thus: *his person* I wishe may be yet soe, but the other is pressed dayly for, and with much impatiency most generally expected for the *securing* of all *parties*. And this is as much as I can say to you at present vpon y^t or ought else, hauing none of my mayne bookes yet come in, for till the *ambassadors* of *France* and *Spayne* returne home vndeceaved there can noe certaine iudgment be made, saue only this, y^t *Cromwell* will *cosen* them *both*. The generall *Peace* must *saue all*, which is now labouring close.

Yours in all loue and duty to the death,

S. S.

S.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, $\frac{1}{11}$ June, 1655.

f. 254. . . . I finde it is generally beleeued that Pen's designe is vpon the West Indies, which should probably make an irreconciliable breach between Cromwell and Spayne. Yet I cannot fancy that

Cromwell would be content that the French should become maisters of Flaunders, but that he will certainly endeauour to oppose it, which I still conceiue to be the occasion of the difficulties he makes in closing the treaty. I told you in my last that Niewport aduertised that his last delay wes upon occasion of the late massacre of the Albigeois, and I haue heard more particularly that, in regard it was acted in part by French troupes, Cromwell, hauing some time agoe written to the French king to know whether it wes done by his commission or with his approbation, had now declared to Monsieur Bourdeaux that he wes so touched in his soule with the barbarous cruelty of that action as he could haue no harte to signe the treaty untill he should haue ansuer of his letter, that he might knowe whither the French king were free of it or not. Upon this delay it is sayd that Bourdeaux resolved to take his leaue, but whether he did or not wee do not yet know. . . .

1655.

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

H. A.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Antwerp, June 15, 1655.

. . . . Monsieur Hanniball Sested is not yet comine from Bruxells, but expected this day and then vppon his tomorrow letters from *Cromwell in England* haue at *you*, whoe wilbe accompanied by our worthy Coll. Phillips after his suffering by our greate rich widdow the Lady Standly (as shee gaue herselfe out to be) and her cozening cozen Ginnings, whoe is now by our Collonell clapt vpp in prison. A greater cheate and more audaciously carryed did I neuer see or heare of, for tis now verily beleeeved and vppon good grounds that there were noe such men killed as her supposed husband and freind, nor shee euer maryed to him, if at all to any of her two former husbands. . . .

f. 255.

1655. That *I* must expect noe monny *Se. Nicholas* writes positively, vppon which *I* must take what is next to it, which is my accustomed phisick, to beare what I cannot ouercomme and retire myselfe into somme caue or bushe (as realy I, God willing, presently intend) till I can receiue somewhat in or out of England, for which I shall leave noe stone vnturned. . . . I meete, and especialy of late, with many strange and vnexpected persons latly comme from *England* as well as other accidents, all confirming me in what I haue now sayd and formerly aduertised touching a lusty, cleere and free declaration, by which meanes, when men comme to the point, they may not stand at a stay and cry "What shall we have?"

Questionlesse *Cromwell* is in huge disorder, as well in his owne bowels as his government. But what of y^t, if we doe not soe secure all other parties, as that they make for vs? Which must be better lookt to then it hath bin (and say I say soe), or we shalbe to begin a new game. Preparative phisick is least dangerous, and euer of singular benefit when it takes.

Your all vowed seruaut to y^e death,

S. S.

S.

COL. ROBERT PHELIPPS.

SIR,

Antwerp, y^e 15th of June, 1655.

f. 259. Since my last I haue had much discourse with my Leueller, to whom I gaue full libertie of expressing his sense of y^e English affaires without contradicting him, which would haue made him more shy and reserued. Y^e result of all was this, that they (whom wee call y^e leuelling party) had soe greate an interest both in the armie, citty and country y^t indubitably they shuld bee able to pull downe that false periured ronge *Cromwell* (soe he termed him); but then (with y^e profession of great ingenuitie) he told me he could

not say what aduantage the king would reape thereby, for that they doe but abuse y^e king who perswade him y^t theire intent is to establish him. Tis possible y^t y^e confusion and vnsetteledness of affaires at that time may bee such y^t they may, vnder strict limitations for y^e conuenience of y^e nation, permitt y^e king to be y^e supreme minister in y^e vacancie of Parliaments, y^e constant returne of which must bee certaine, to whom he alsoe must be accomptable. But euen this is more then he can assure me will euer be offered to y^e king or any of that family. As for his owne part he could bee very well contented to see the king inuested in all his legall rights, soe y^t y^e people were secured of theire liberties and proprieties; but y^e generality of y^e people are by theire interest (in either hauing bought Kings, Byshops or delinquents lands or, as most of y^e meaner sort haue donn, in hauing taken leases from y^e first purchasers at low rents and paying fines) soe auerse to y^e Kings returne as nothing is more dreadfull to them, soe that, although they neuer soe much desire and indeauour y^e ruine of this power in beinge, yeat twill proue a very difficult worke to make them allow of y^e readmission of y^e King, whom they beleieue upon noe termes in the world they can trust with securitie to themselves and theire estates. And if y^e Kings party (who, to vse his owne termes, are but loosely knitt together) shuld haue succeeded in theire last designe against Cromwell, or hereafter shuld, they must expect to receaue another contest from theire party. I hope, now wee know theire minds, wee shall be y^e abler to manage our affaire with them, which in my opinion is not at present to disgust them, but by all meanes to caioule them, and how farther to deale with them I will not paper with my sence therein. I must not omitt y^t Massey and Maior Wood^a haue insinuated themselves very much into this person, and, for ought I perceaue, theire principles are not very incongruous (now religion is not soe much

^a Mentioned, with Massey, Titus, and Bunce, as a supporter of the Presbyterian interest with the King in a letter of a spy, 25 July (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 246).

1655. as mentioned). Now, to suffer y^e presbyterian party to intirely ioyne with theise fellows I thinke not prudent, and I am confident they will doe it, if not preuented I could wish y^t many of y^e true Royall interest would seemingly comply with them and act with them as of theire persuation, by which meanes the King shall always know theire designes and neuer want a party amongst them to serue his turne vpon any faire occasion on them.

Sir, I beseech you pardon my presumption if I haue uentured to give my sence of matters which some may beleue to bee farr aboue y^e reach of my iudgement, of whose weekness I am very sensible and therefore desire y^t y^e strenght of my affections and deuotions to y^e King and his seruise (wherein I will yeald to noe man) may expiate for my other inabilities. Lett me receaue your directions how to behaue myself towards this fellow (whose true name is Sexbie—he was a collonel in Cromwells army when y^e King was in Scotland and of great power and repute in y^e army, [but] after Dunbarr fight he vpon some distaste beeteene him and Cromwell quitted y^e army) and in all things else wherein I may be capable to serue you honour with your commands, Sir,

Your mosth faythfull and humble seruant,

RO. PHELIPPS.

SIR ALEX. HUME.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Hage, 17 June, 1655.

f. 261.

. . . . It is very probable the French will be so farre from resenting Cromwell's hypocriticall pretext for deferring the close of the treaty that they will speedely returne him a satisfactory ansuer touching that businesse of the Albigeois, whercof wee hear they use all wayes to make themselves appear innocent, by disauowing it totally and writing sharply to all such ministers and officers of

theirs as haue had or been supposed to haue had a hand in it, and by giuing friendly reception and harbour to such of them as ar refuged into France and authorising of charitable collections for their supply. And it is very like they will to Cromwell so purge themselves of all guiltinesse therein as he will haue no ground left to pretend he can suspect them. Yet I am confident he will still finde some niew pretext or other to auoyde the hasty closing of the treaty, and howsoever it hath been sayd that Monsieur de Bourdeaux would be gone, I am [of] opinion he will yet suffer longer delays before he desert the businesse. It is very well that the people in England, especially those of their owne crue, begin to refuse the payement of taxes and excise ; but so long as the army is firme to him the repinings of others cannot much hurt him. . . .

Your most affectionat and humble seruaut,

H. A.

LORD HATTON.

SIR,

Paris, ²/₁₅ June, 1655.

. . . . In these parts *Lo. Jermyn* rules in chiefe and *y^e D. of Yorke* is not only loaded but delighted with his yoke, scarce eats without him and such people as neuer eat at a Lords table in England. *Mr. Bennet* hath noe countenance from top to botome at *y^e Palais Royall* ; *S^r Jo. Berkely* swells and orders church as well as state in his discourses and is at this moment fauorable to the Roman. There is passed by an Envoyee^a with eight in company, who goes from Cromwell to Sauoye and called at the French court to know if they auowed the massacre in Sauoy of the Protestants. The French Court (and I am sure

^a Samuel Morland, at this time an Assistant-Secretary under Thurloe ; knt. and bart. in 1660, and Gent. of the Privy Chamber. He left London for his mission on 26 May, and, after treating with Louis XIV. and Mazarin at La Fère, reached Rivoli on 21 June and remained there and at Turin until 19 July.

1655. the people heere) crie out of it and it is like to haue great effects; for Cromwell, they say, vpon this occasion intends to make himselfe protector of the Protestant party ouer Europe, and the Huguenotes heere looke high. The wisest I heere of in England beleue Cromwell seekes now a quarrell with Spaine for a pretext for the Indies, and he hath demanded the cessation of the Inquisition proceedings against Protestants. It is miraculous that Spaine and France will not foresee their scourge and right the cause of Kings. And yet it is noe wonder, when wee consider there is a Mazarin in France and a Don Louis de Haro in Spaine, and perhaps others in other courts,^a that aime at a Viziership in Christendome to the height of that in Turkey. Things goe on very quietly in England. *The D. of Bucks* is returning. He and *Mr. Montagu* take great liberty to declaire the failing of *y^e Kings* late designes to be through his owne default, which, though sure a great vntruth, does disservice. *Mr Montagu* aimes at an employment to *Rome* and to be furnished for it out of *y^e K. of Englands* pension heere, which they say he hath assigned ouer to *y^e Queene*; and it is said, if *Mr Montagu* can get any of it, it shall beare his chardges and countenance him as one in fauor with *the King* as well as *the Queene*. The *English Papists*, I assure you on my knowledge, are very bussy and *D. of Bucks* is at many priuate consults with them to contriue how they may indeere themselues with Cromwell.

At the *Palais Royall* there is much to (*sc. too*) publick and broad discourse against some whom they decypher to be managers of the late failed designe, and indeed they, and I wish they only (of *Lo. Jermyn* and *S^r Jo. Berkelys* faction), were guilty of such talke as they make common heere and in England, but *y^e D. of Yorke* expresseth himselfe more then was expected. Your D^r is noe Astrologue nor true prophet, for Belcaress and his lady are gone towards you with intend to arriue att Collogne. And he was carried to the water side with great state by the grandees of the

^a This is perhaps aimed at Hyde's influence with the king.

Palais Royall to take boat at Poissy and soe by water to Rouen, 1655.
and thence to the sea for Holland; and I thinke they need not
feare taking by the English, since Mr Cowley and Mr Nichols^a nor
any good frend of *Lo. Jermyns* takes noe hurt in England.

The Pope hath lately giuen some commands to the Cardinal de
Rhetz concerning his Arch B^{rick} of Paris, which he hath sent hither
to the Deane and Chapter and hath constituted the most plausible
curees heere in the Towne and great Jansenists to be his Viccars
Generales. Mazarin hath newly caused himselfe to be made Gene-
ralissimo, finding the Spaniards are not able to send a consider-
able army into the field. *Y^e Qu. of England* sayes it is most
certaine that Cromwell proposed one of his daughters to the French
Ambassador for a wife for the King of France. Things proceed in
these parts with meanness enough to prognostick a ruine, and
vndoubtedly, if a generall peace preuent it not, Monarchy will fall
and Tiranny scourge the authors of these disorders. . . .

Your most humble and harty seruant,

S. S.

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

R^t Ho.,

Paris, 18 Junij, 1655.

. . . . I conceive by some lettres found in an English ship f. 205.
which our Brest capitaines took cominge from the Barbadoes that
Pens designe is for Cuba, which is also written out of England.
They wilbe able to land 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, as is con-
ceived, so as they will put the K. of Spaine to some extremity if
they prevaile, for his plate fleet vseth to harbour there at their
retturne, waitinge for a winde to bringe them home

^a There was a Richard Nicols among the Royalists imprisoned in England in
the course of this year (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 79).

1655. In England there is great expectation what wilbe comme of Conyces busines; it is put off till the next terme, and mens eyes are attent upon it, as more concerned then at any thinge which happened these many yeares. Cromwell, when he committed Maynard and Twisden and another lawyer, tould them that, if they would have Magna Carta (which they had talked so much on in Westminster Hall), they must put on each a helmet and troope for it! ^a And now they see what they fought for. Here is the liberty of y^e subject. Mr. John Ashburnham is sent to Guernesey; his brother William had a fever on shipbord and was in hope to get leave to be brought backe for recovery. I heare y^t Col. Gray and S^r Humphrey Benet must be sent to y^e Barbados. When Mr. Asb[urnham] was to goe out of y^e Tower, word came to him at eleven at clocke at night that he and diverse others must be gone by five in y^e morninge; they desired time to provide money and necessaryes, but it was denyed them

Your honours most humble servant,

DE COLTON.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 18 Junij, 1655.

f. 269. I doubt of the generality of refusers to pay taxes, in regard those lawyers petition soe soone; and Maynard doubles his soe spedily, it seemes he is resolved to content the Protector in termes. I had an apprehension of good effects of it at first, but this back-slydinge somewhat cooles me; and I see Whitlock yet continues the seale, who was sayde to have given over

I lately mett Mr. Alderman Bunce, and in talke he was very earnest that the Kinge should serve himselfe of all partyes and they should not make conditions but take from him, which I applauded;

^a Clarendon (ed. 1849, vi. p. 105) gives a different version of this speech, as made, not to the counsel, but to the judges.

but I finde that those wordes have a meanyng, which whether the good alderman understand I know not. I told him, vpon his namyng the Presbiterians, what cause of suspition there was of them by former tryall. He much dislaymed the first beginners and at last fell to affirme that the King had beene betrayed and he knew by whome; but I would not comprehend his meanyng and doubt he had not much himselfe. I told him generalls signified nothing, but, if he would offer any thing in order to publique good, I was as ready to be a servant in that as any. He told mee he would meete mee againe and talke further of it. I beleve the man is led by some crafty consorts that dote on him and corrupt that vnderstanding and inclination that he hath, and, while he thinkes himselfe changed, he is carryed by a circle to the point where first he moved.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Bruxells, June 19, 1655.

. . . This is in much haste to let you know y^t yeasterday I had, besides a long discourse, a very strickt iniunction from a person then going to *Count Fuensaldania* and of great credit now with him that I should aduertize his Ma^{tie} how fit it would be to loose noe time in eyther writing by *Ea. Norwich* to him or giving *Norwich* some such commission for to assure him of his Ma^{ties} kindnes for him selfe as well as reall intention to close with the king of Spain in case the king may finde a returne answerable, as alsoe y^t you of his Councell will consider well what *Spayne* may expect from the king of England and what his Ma^{tie} doth expect from *Spayne*. I am alsoe to seeke out one *Saxby*, whoe goes by the name of *Brooke*, now at *Bruges*, whither I am instantly going, he hauing bin well knowne to me, when I was in prison,

1655. for the prime *Leveler* and hath most credit in *Cromwells army*, though now the greatest enemy to *his person*. In my presence he drank his *Ma^{ty}* health with much seeming (at least) affection. This *man* is much harkned after by *Count Fuensaldania*, and I am most confident a fast fixt *Catholike*, though professing nothing lesse. He is a very able man and protesteth greate kindnesse to *Norwich* vppon a freinds score of *myne in Sussee*; whoe conveyed him out of *England*. I beseeche you, Sir, be most speedy and circumspect heerein for my directions, directing your letters for me to Mr. Clutterbooke at Bruges; and I doubt not but to give you a good account in retorne, for things now *begin to worke to purpose*, *their eyes being opened* and *Alonzo de Cardenas* is quite out of esteeme with *them*. . . .

Yours all,

S. S.

S.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Bruges, June 21, 1655.

f. 274. Yeasterday I wrote to you of something which may be of vse, since which time I haue spoken with the *leveler* I therein mentioned, from whome *Norwich* hath had great satisfaction. *Spayne courts him* much, and I am assured y^t *monny* is sent into *England* for to set the worke a foote. *Cromwell* must downe, if wee spoyle not our game. . . . If you giue *Norwich* any farther command, send it to Mr Cluterbooke and some *monny* too, or I cannot breathe heere a weeke, where Sig^r *Oyniati* alsoe is and expects dayly somewhat on which to *treate with Norwich*. I neuer had more hope then now. I beleeve y^t Monsieur *Sesteds* pye is doe baked. . . .

I am all yours,

S. S.

S.

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

RIGHT HO^{ble},

Hage, 21 June, 1655.

. . . . I perswade my selfe they here have fears on both hands, whether Cromwells breach be with France or Spain, for France must looke on the Orange party in case of a war with Cr. and wilbe terrible to thothers if he have peace with him, for Cromwell may not hinder his progresse in Flanders, which will reduce these into great streightes, especially if there grow divisions among the provinces, as some feare. But it is noe prudence to looke soe farr of, but take the present and leave the rest to destiny. f. 277.

The draught^a I sent is not for all fancies, many being for more particulars, which I beleeve, when they appeare in a body, wilbe as hardly allowed as this; for a profession to allow all sects wilbe most destructive, distasting all y^t are vnderstanding and sober, and will not haue an interpretation, which some expect, to vnite but divide and appeare suspitious, it being vnreasonable that such a condicion should be seriously intended and many wilbe lost and, I beleeve, very few gayned. And if in promises there be keyes of evasion against the sound of the words, that may deceive as well frinds by the seeming sence as thothers; and this was plaine in that vpon the commying out of Scotland. For the purchasers, I shall give my sence at present. First the kings lands were not of great concernement, the most revenue being farme rents and bought by those y^t had the land before and noe great engagement, and, if they were bought by any honest men, there is noe danger, and, if by rebells, there is little hope to wynn such, for they cannot think themselves secure. And I beleeve most of the church-lands have beene bought by such as had the leases and are not att all fond of their purchase. For delinquents estates, I hold it impossible for the king to make a confirmation and

^a Of a Declaration to be issued by the King.

1655. most dangerous to offer it, and in my opinion all those putt together would make a very inconsiderable body and the greatest number will never be engaged on either side. And there is danger by too much courting of enemyes to loose friends; and, though some thinke all wayes must be tryed, yet some may have noe passage through, it being frequent that difficulties and cures are extended in opinion beyound the truth of their beinge. I thinke a Declaracion cannot be seasonable till force appeare, for wee may not hope that any wilbe moved by wordes vnlesse there be a possibility and hope of successe; and, if the force be probable, the Declaracion may be the narrower, and, if little, a large one will cover but a little ground. I cannot speake vpon knowledge, but I beleeeve that the feare is not soe vniversall touching purchased estates. Its a consideracion very obvious in regard of the nature of the thinge, but not soe indispensable in regard of the weight, for there may be a case concernyng a multitude, but that multitude may not be all equally concerned nor all equally considerable. But for want of a certainty I supersede, only adding this, that too large offers are seldome trusted or esteemed, beinge a signe of weaknes and impossible observance. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

EARL OF NORWICH.

MY DEARE SECRETARY,

Bruges, Juin 25, 1655.

f. 282. . . . This is to let my *Sec. Ni.* know that *I* am still close following the same sent (*sc. scent*), and yeasterday dispatcht an expresse, a sure messenger, to my freind with the Count *Fuensaldania*, whoe coniured me soe to doe after my discourse with *Sarby*, by whome that Count cheefely works and by whose aduise I am most confident he will steere his whole course. I am much deceived if *Norwich*

be not fast in *Sarbies trust*, but, if it be knowne, *I am vndon*. 1655.
Mony is questionlesse already made ouer into *England* for to take away *Cromwell*, which must first be and by his owne party, or not likely to be in hast. *Sarby* tould *Norwich* y^t there are such spyes about y^e King as hardly can ought be kept secret, and therefore agayne and agayne coniured my care therein and that neyther his Ma^{tie} nor any of his party once see much as seeme to stir till mayne first blow were given and then, if y^e king will but be content to permit a free parlement, all may doe well. But we are not there yet, which when wee are, there wilbe time enough to doe y^t and more for all honest mens satisfaction, of which I prayde him not to doubt. And soe wee parted, he for *Ostend*, where I know he meetes with such as act for him in this designe.

My sonne wrote me a letter by a *Spaniard*, with whome I haue had much discourse at his returne for *Spayne* and giuen him such information of all things in relation to vs as I belecue shall much aduance our work, he being sent hither in great confidence and hastning back agayne by the first wynde. Twas yeasterday I spake with him, hauing *Ogniati* for my interpreter, whoe dayly expects order to say somewhat of importance to me. But *Norwich* beleuees it will now come another way and by the hands of a *Jesuit* whoe is commanded for this busines, principaly to attend the *Campe*, *Court* and *Count*, and to him I am directed to write.

I finde this the best place for *Norwich* to be in, in regard of all commers ouer, of which this last passadge I had the happines to meete severall of my good freinds, whoe tell me that *Cromwell* puts resolutely for the legislative power and will carry it or perishe by it. And there the point and knot now rests, the operation whereof must for a while be attended with patience and work, as I haue aboue said. My Lady *Newport* tould me y^t my sanctified grandsonne feacht my freind *Reade* out of y^e Tower, but where he is since I cannot possibly learne, nor can I haue one word from my grandsonne touching that or any thing else, whoe in the absence of the other only knowes where my poore recruits are, of which if

1655. I heare nothing this next weeke nor can haue poore gubb from *his Ma^{tie}*, I must of necessity *slip out of the* [world ?]^a or be disgraced for euer. . . .

My dear Secretaryes all vowed,

S. S.

S.

COL. ROBERT PHELIPS.

SIR,

Antwerp, 25 June, 1655.

f. 286.

. . . . I shall obserue your orders in keeping a faire correspondence with my new acquaintance, but pardon me if I doe remaine obstinate against your opinion, in auerring y^t y^e Leueller and Presbyterian doe agree in their principles, although I must confess I beleue their ends may be different. I shall instance in one of their principles, which to our interest is *instar omnium*, y^t y^e king is y^e peoples creature, from which one principle all y^e most pernicious state doctrine of y^e Leuellers is deriued, and y^t this principle actuated y^e first Presbyterian Parliament is too euident. And y^e obstinacy of y^e Presbyterians (who serued against y^e king and now pretend for him) in denying y^t euer they committed any fault in their parliamentary ingagement is testimonie enough y^t they are nere of kindred to y^e Leueller. I neede not tell you of y^e recruite both of shippes and soldiers which are sending after Pen, but I must with a greate deale of greife acquaint you y^t most of our freinds in prison are to be sent away in this flecte, and amongst y^e rest Coll. Gray, St Humphry Bennet, and James Reade

Your most faythfull and humble seruant,

ROBERT PHELIPPS.

^a The word is omitted in the original. The term "gubb" used just before, and in other letters of Norwich, is perhaps for "gob," better known in its diminutive "gobbet," a bit, mouthful (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, under "gobbet" and "job").

PERCY CHURCH.

1655.

RIGHT HONO^{ble},Paris, this 25th of June, 1655.

By yours of the 15th present your Honours oppinion seemes to f. 287.
conceaue that it is almost an impossibilitie for Admirall Penns
fleete to bee so supplied as to performe Cromwells designe. Its
possible it may fayle, but unlikely in reguard of y^e great supplyes
thats now a sending to him, vnles frustrated by calentures which
usually accompanys those voyages, and then the Arch Rebell
through despaire may runne headlong to y^e Diuell. What
this weeke brought mee from England your honour will here
find.

London, June 1⁷, 1655.

Nener were greater feares of persecution then at this present, by reason of the
Massacre (as they call it, though may bee occasioned by themselves) in Piemont
of y^e Hugneuots. This day sennight is to bee y^e day of Humiliation, to know
Gods will in y^e business and how they shall proceed with the Catholicks, the effects
whereof is extremely apprehended. Two French Ministers who haue here care of
the French churches are the men y^t make all this Hubbub, and there is already
aboue 20,000 pounds collected for them. The French Am^{or} doth nothing; yet hee
would faine sett forth a declaration to shew his Masters innocency therein, but the
Protector will not permitt it. The three Lawyers are out of y^e Tower, and wee
expect daylie a declaration from y^e Army where y^e legislatiue power must reside in
vacansie of Parliaments, which infallibly wilbee in y^e Protector and his Councell.
Preparations are making also for his Coronation, which was expected this weeke;
upon y^e fayling whereof many hundreds haue been lost in wagers. The Chancellors,
Judges and Ld. Chief Justice are all to bee changed, and such to bee established as
will permitt no Lawyers to plead against his supremacy. Wee heare y^t the fleete in
y^e West Indyas is much infected with sicknes, so that wee are sending 20 sayle of
shippes to reewrite them with 2,000 land men, for which end wee had yesterday a
greate presse amongst scanien. The Marques of Leyde is still here, but can conclude
nothing. Collonel Copstone,^a sheriffe of Deuon, was knighted by Cromwell. Old S^r

^a Col. John Coplestone, who had made himself active in resistance to the late
attempt at insurrection, raising a regiment of 960 men (*Cal. St. Pap.*, p. 209).

1655.

Henery Vane, being informed by his Phisitions that hee wuld not liue many dayes, sent for his howschold chaplen and desired to know his oppinion concerning the Earle of Strafords business. The chaplen answered it was damnable. "Why, what then think you of the late kings?" Hee replied that was more damnable. Whereupon S^r Henery told him his discourse and doctrine had bine otherwise; so the doctor retiring to his chamber farely hanged him selfe, which when found, it was told the knight, whoe sayed (as tis write) that there was one gone to the Dinell and another would suddenly followe. Which may bee hee did, for hee dyed the next day; but this those Rognes proclaime not.

. . . . The Court gaue Moreland (Cromwells express) two Exants of y^e guards to conduct him in safety to the confines of Sauoy. The D. of Yorke goes the next weeke to the court, and if the Articles of peace betweene France and Cromwell bee not signed by the first of July next, then his High^s, as sayed, goes to the Armie, which now hath beseeged Landersy ^a this eight dayes; but in case of an agreement his High^s returnes, from whence wee shall know how his High^s shalbee disposed.

Our Queene and Princess, God bee praysed, are very well, and a better conclusion from hence cannot bee giuen.

Your Honours most assured humble servant,

[PERCY CHURCH.]

Cromwells picture hath bine here sold this long time, and of late with certaine verses underneath, which the other day occasioned an officer by order from y^e Chancellor to sease them in shoppes or ellswhere, which dune, y^e verses taken away, the pictures were restored to y^e howners. I will gett them against y^e next and send them to your Honour.

^a Landrécy.

JOSEPH JANE.

1655.

RIGHT Hon^{ble},

Hage, 28 Junij, 1655.

. . . . I doubt they who speake soe confidently of the knowledge f. 291.
of England have not soe exactly held the scale, for sure, if Cr[om-
well] should have the villaines end, the present power will fall to the
army, and of that its most likely some in the Councell have a great
share, and noe doubt will hasten a new protector or breake
asunder. But what the Presbiterians will doe without an army
or military man that I have heard of I cannot coniecture; but all
changes and new things may happily produce somewhat sittinge
still, and a progresse in the old way workes stability, and if our
restitution come not by them its very vnlikely by ourselves.

The grate lawyers were rightly answered, though they would
and doe passe for wise men, that putt those troopes in such handes;
for Magna Carta, which hath no signification but when a king
governs, as wee may see, it was a pure name while the wicked
parliament assumed a legislative power to controll it at pleasure.

That which you write touching Col. Grey and Sr H. Bennett is
much talked of here; but if it be done, its one of the boldest thinges
that the man hath done to send such persons to plantations and
must have worse constructions then cutting of their heades. Our
newes is y^t Cr[omwell] had private talke with the Earle of North-
th[umberland] three houres; some say he hath sent for the sheriffs
of the severall countyes. Never was the vanity of pretenders to
wisdom an government more apparantly layed open to reproach
then in the successe of our parliament, nor the people requited for
their murmurings more sensibly then ours have beene; but they
shutt their eyes and will not shame.

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

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